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Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Meeting Begins

Olechowski Makes Remarks

LD1104224489 Warsaw PAP in English
2106 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin, April 11—The foreign ministers' committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty started two-day meeting here Monday. The Polish delegation is headed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave a reception tonight in honour of the delegates who were addressed by the host and Tadeusz Olechowski, the latter taking the floor on behalf of the remaining delegations. Following are excerpts from Olechowski's speech:

"Phenomena occurring in the world and favourable tendencies in the East-West dialogue necessitate a deep re-appraisal of international developments and a new approach to the resolution of global and regional problems.

"In this context I want to stress the significance of this meeting. Its documents are closely related to the extremely essential phase of the CSCE process, to the start in Vienna of the negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on conventional forces reduction in Europe and of the negotiations of 35 CSCE nations on confidence and security building measures in Europe.

"All our countries are interested in quick agreements. We do not confine ourselves to political declarations. The allied states made unilateral decisions on conventional arms reductions which will surely be conducive to a progress in the Vienna negotiations.

"The first echoes from these negotiations arouse optimism, hence one can assume that we have initiated a new phase in the process of building foundations for the common European home of ours.

"We are witnessing and participating in deep transformations in socialist states which seek new roads and solutions to speed up their socio-political development and democratization of political life. This gives a fresh impetus to the dynamic of mutual relations, permits to solve all, no matter how difficult problems, in the spirit of partnership and equality of allies.

"This year will see the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. The reflection over the causes, development and aftermath of that most atrocious of all wars must be a constant memento to the nations of the world and an impulse to redouble efforts for the building of a world without wars and violence."

Olechowski on Meeting

LD1204230789 Warsaw PAP in English
2145 GMT 12 Apr 89

[BY PAP correspondent Edmund Kieszkowski]

[Text] Berlin, April 12—Chairman of the Polish delegation to the Berlin session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of States—Parties to the Warsaw Treaty Tadeusz Olechowski met with Polish newsmen accredited in the GDR to brief them on the results of the two-day discussions and the adopted documents.

The Polish foreign minister stated that the discussions had been dominated by European issues, which, according to him, was related to the Vienna meeting concluded early this year whose results had an impact on the dynamics of detente processes on the European continent.

Speaking about the Warsaw Treaty states' joint stance expressed in a final communique and two documents, Olechowski underlined the great importance of the Berlin meeting for Poland.

In this context he pointed to proposals forwarded by states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty to begin in the nearest future separate negotiations with NATO member states on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. They would supplement and support the process of reducing military confrontation between both blocs, he said.

One can say the same about the appeal "for a world without wars" co-initiated by Poland, the minister stated. For Poland particularly meaningful is a statement included in the appeal to the effect that a precondition for a lasting and stable peace order in Europe is all states' deep respect for the existing territorial-political realities, Olechowski said.

In reply to questions on bilateral issues discussed during his stay here, including problems related to the delimitation of waters in the Pomeranian Bay, the minister stated that the recent time had seen an essential rapprochement of both countries' stands in this respect.

One can even speak about a feasible date of a visit to Poland by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer to sign a proper agreement satisfactory for both sides.

Staniszewski Views Meeting

LD1304183289 Warsaw PAP in English
1655 GMT 13 Apr 89

["Statement of Foreign Ministry's Spokesman"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 13—Stefan Staniszewski, the press spokesman of the minister of foreign affairs, presented a statement to PAP on the meeting of the committee of the foreign affairs ministers of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty held in Berlin on April 11-12. The statement reads:

Minister Tadeusz Olechowski described the meeting in Berlin as interesting and based on the common conviction of its participants about the need to take opportunity of the nowadays favourable international atmosphere for the good of the countries of our community and in the interest of all of Europe.

I wish to stress that in the statement on nuclear battlefield weapons in Europe adopted in Berlin by the committee of the ministers of foreign affairs of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the socialist states gave another expression of their readiness to make concrete efforts for disarmament. They pointed out that the implementation of NATO's plans on the modernization of battlefield nuclear weapons would have a destabilizing impact on the military-strategic situation in Europe and would contradict the disarmament efforts on our continent.

The Warsaw Treaty countries proposed that NATO countries open a separate forum of negotiations in the nearest future on reducing and next eliminating battlefield nuclear weapons from Europe. This would in fact be a "third zero option" modelled after the earlier agreement between the USSR and the United States on eliminating medium and shorter range missiles. Its implementation would also contribute to progress on the road to deep reductions of strategic nuclear arms and draw closer the prospect of common and full liquidation of nuclear weapons.

Elimination of battlefield missiles would lead to military balance in Europe at a lower level, without the element of fear. It would also be conducive to the countries' basing their defence on the principle of rational sufficiency.

We expect NATO member states—despite the initially unfavourable reactions—to approach this proposal of the Warsaw Treaty in a constructive manner at its nearest meeting in London.

The committee of foreign affairs ministers of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty also adopted an appeal 'For a World Without Wars' in connection with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two falling this year.

Stressing that this war, the most tragic in the history of mankind, began with the armed invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany in September 1939, the ministers agreed that in current conditions war cannot be a practical means of solving conflicts or disputed international problems.

While preparing for the official observances of the 50th anniversary of the tragic September, we are bearing in mind the future, actively participating in all the efforts of states and nations aimed at securing a peaceful future for mankind. We are happy at the fact that allied socialist states with which we create a common front of the

defence of peace, are, alongside countries of the great anti-Nazi coalition, among the states marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the war.

Fischer on Pact Documents

LD1204195489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1537 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer announced at an international news conference in Berlin this afternoon that the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states adopted important documents at the conclusion of their committee session in Berlin. Apart from the communique on the session, these documents include an appeal by the foreign ministers "for a world without war" and a "statement by the Warsaw Pact member states on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe."

In a statement, the minister pointed out that the third important session of the Warsaw Pact states had thus taken place in the GDR capital. In May 1987, the Political Consultative Committee adopted the document on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. It openly outlined principles of its military doctrine and proposed consultations to the NATO member states on comparing military concepts and doctrines. In December of the same year, the general secretaries and first secretaries of the Central Committee of the fraternal parties of the Warsaw Pact praised the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles here and called for work to be continued energetically for further disarmament agreements.

With the documents adopted in Berlin, the socialist defense alliance augmented with an important element its negotiating offer for disarmament in all weapons types possessed by NATO and the Warsaw Pact in their stockpiles. This session, he added, noted progress in the strengthening of peace and on the path to real disarmament, as well as in the reduction of confrontation. "However, in our view this development is not running linearly or without contradictions. I mention NATO's adherence to its claim that there was a threat from the East."

Oskar Fischer cited the clinging to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, the intensification of efforts in all spheres of arming to compensate qualitatively for that which was no longer available, for example as a result of the INF Treaty, and the unconcealed striving to differentiate between the socialist countries in order to interfere in their internal affairs. The GDR foreign minister said that the foreign ministers supported the intensification of the political dialogue on key issues of international developments and practiced this daily. The committee believed that the efforts for the continuation of the disarmament process must be accelerated. It supported a higher level of security and cooperation in Europe. In order to further reduce the danger of war and

thus of the destruction of mankind, new paths had to be followed. Such a path would be the reduction and finally the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, which were stationed in and around Europe in large numbers, but which so far had been untouched by all negotiations.

Just retaining these tactical nuclear weapons would put a brake on disarmament in Europe; their modernization or further increase would destabilize the strategic military situation in Europe and undermine what has already been achieved. The committee has proposed a start in the near future to separate negotiations between the members of both alliances on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of the dual capability systems and means [mittel]. We are prepared, Oskar Fischer said, to conduct consultations in the very near future on preparations, the mandate, the place of negotiations, the circle of participants, the stages of the elimination of the tactical nuclear weapons, and other related questions. All this, of course, under strict international supervision.

As a result of the session of the alliance's foreign ministers' meeting, he was able to state unequivocally, that the Warsaw Pact member states expect a constructive response to their proposals and they are, at the same time, willing to examine all ideas and proposals aimed at strengthening stability and security at ever lower military levels, are in line with the principles of equality and undiminished security of each side, and guarantee an effective verification of the fulfillment of the agreements or of what has been agreed.

The fact that the foreign ministers have met in Berlin a few weeks before the 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II by German fascism was an occasion for a separate appeal. The fundamental conditions for upholding a permanent, stable European peace order remained strict respect for the existing territorial and political realities, all principles of the UN Charter, the stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act, and other universally recognized norms of international relations by all states. All manifestations of revanchism, chauvinism, and nationalism, all forms of enmity between peoples, and attempts to violate the territorial integrity of states must be appropriately rebuffed.

In this connection I cannot conceal the fact, the minister continued, that we are extremely concerned about the growing right-wing radical and neo-Nazi trends in the FRG and Berlin, in whatever form they manifest themselves. Only a few hundred meters from our venue, deputies of the neo-Nazi Republican Party recently entered the House of Representatives. The foreign ministers of the member states underline here in Berlin the historic responsibility of the two German states that war will never again be unleashed from German soil and fully and completely support the GDR's policy which has been directed toward this aim since its founding.

The ministers, he added, expressed their satisfaction with the recent efforts to open up paths to settle regional conflicts. In this connection they particularly praised the initiatives introduced under the leadership of the UN secretary general. In view of the—in some areas—decades of conflicts and very contradictory interests of the conflicting parties, these efforts require a sense of realism and high degree of patience. This in particular placed a great responsibility on all involved states to fulfill commitments entered into, to exercise restraint, and to avoid renewed flaring up of fighting at any cost.

Oskar Fischer concluded: With their documents and decisions, the Berlin session of the foreign ministers' committee is complying with the decisions adopted by the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in July of last year. The goal and urgent tasks remained further steps for a radical reduction of military capacities while maintaining parity and equal security.

Johanes Assesses Pact Session

LD1204192889 Prague CTK in English
1731 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin April 12 (CTK)—“The session had an open, matter-of-fact and working character, it reflected the elements of the new style of cooperation between the Warsaw Treaty member states and an increased emphasis on practical solution of problems,” Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes told CTK here today.

Speaking at the close of a two-day session of the Warsaw Treaty member states' foreign ministers, Jaromir Johanes pointed out that they concentrated on the present state and prospects of the Helsinki process which we understand as an irreplaceable mechanism making it possible to achieve a high level of cooperation of the two social systems in Europe. Views were exchanged on the further development of political dialogue, deepening of military detente and all-round cooperation in Europe.

Recalling that the session paid special attention to the recently opened talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and on measures to strengthen confidence and security, Jaromir Johanes said that “the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers agreed to make every effort to ensure their speediest possible progress and the elaboration of generally acceptable agreements. The principal of equal security must, however, be fully observed,” the minister said.

He characterized the problem of tactical nuclear weapons as very urgent and said that “modernization of weapons must be replaced by modernization of political thinking, that instead of strengthening the arms potential it is necessary to strengthen confidence. We understand the final aim—removal of these dangerous weapons from our continent—as an inseparable part of our effort for a nuclear-free world. It is also closely linked to our proposals to create a nuclear-free zone in central Europe,” Jaromir Johanes said.

The ministers paid special attention to the improvement of the mechanism of cooperation in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and discussed coordinated approach to the preparation and realization of important actions agreed on at the Vienna follow-up meeting. They stressed the necessity of ensuring that the forthcoming three-stage conference on the humanitarian dimension of the Helsinki process opening in Paris next May be held in a constructive spirit free from confrontation. Also discussed was the development of mutually advantageous East-West cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological sphere, and questions of cooperation in environmental protection including the preparation of an ecological forum in Sofia. In this connection the Czechoslovak delegation explained the present state of the realization of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec's proposal to call to Prague a meeting of the heads of government of the states neighbouring on Czechoslovakia to discuss ecological issues.

Jaromir Johanes pointed out that the Czechoslovak delegation actively participated in the elaboration of all the adopted documents. It strictly observed the need for strengthening unity of the Warsaw Treaty members while taking into account Czechoslovakia's specific needs and interests.

Warsaw Pact Ministers' Statement

LD1204173889 Prague CTK in English
1459 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin April 12 (CTK)—The Warsaw Treaty member states propose to the NATO states that independent talks be opened as soon as possible on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe including nuclear means of double destination, said a statement on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe issued here today at the close of a session of the Warsaw Treaty countries' foreign ministers.

It stressed that the Warsaw Treaty states are convinced that practical measures in the sphere of conventional weapons and tactical nuclear weapons cuts would complement each other and strengthen with the decreasing level of military confrontation of the two blocs. These measures would help ease the danger of war, strengthen confidence and create a more stable situation in Europe, the statement said adding that the implementation of this task would contribute to progress towards a substantial reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and to complete and general liquidation of nuclear weapons in the future.

Questions concerning the preparation of the proposed talks could be discussed at special consultations which the allied socialist states could open immediately. These consultations could be attended by NATO and Warsaw Treaty nuclear powers and all other states concerned—members of these blocs, those owning tactical means and able to use nuclear warheads and those on whose territory tactical nuclear means are deployed.

At the very beginning it could be agreed that the cuts in tactical nuclear weapons and their liquidation be realized stage by stage.

Discussed at the talks would be measures of effective international control of the reduction and liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons and also a set of measures concerning confidence and security in relation to these means and military activity linked to their use. It would also be possible to consider the possibility of setting up an international control commission with relevant powers.

The Warsaw Treaty states are convinced that mutual renouncement of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons by both sides would contribute to the creation of a favourable political atmosphere for these talks and to strengthening confidence. These means would not be increased in numbers.

The Warsaw Treaty members are convinced that the considerable reduction of Soviet forces in Central Europe and other unilateral steps of the Warsaw Treaty aimed at reducing Armed Forces and armament create favourable conditions for the realization of proposals to create zones with lower armament and higher confidence and nuclear-free zones in central Europe, the Balkans and in other regions of the continent from which all nuclear means would be withdrawn.

A regime envisaging mutual control including on-the-spot inspection would be created in these zones, the statement of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers said.

CSCE Observers Arrive To View Joint Exercises

LD1704200889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1635 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—The participants in the joint troop exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army [NPA], made preparations today, as scheduled, for further defense maneuvers. In the Treuenbrietzen, Jessen, Cottbus, Eisenhuettendorf, and Teupitz regions the troops on the 'orange' side continued the construction of positions, sectors, and zones. In the headquarters, decisions were made and orders for the forthcoming engagement were worked out. Meanwhile, 'blue' forces marched to take up further massing and starting off positions.

As many as 18,500 members of both fraternal armies are taking part in the exercise, under the direction of Lieutenant General Anatoliy Tschernischev, commander in chief of one of the GSFG armies. The armament includes 360 tanks, 490 launchers for guided antitank missiles mounted on armored vehicles, 172 guns over 100mm, and 29 helicopters. Fewer than 200 aircraft sorties are anticipated.

In accordance with the Stockholm document on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, 37 maneuver observers from 19 CSCE

countries arrived in the GDR during the day. They represent Belgium, Bulgaria, the FRG, the CSSR, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Canada, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, and the United States. On behalf of the GDR Government and the minister for national defense, Army General Heinz Kessler, they were welcomed to Cottbus by Lt Gen Guenter Leistner, deputy chief of the NPA Main Staff.

In a speech he stated that the GDR will in the future actively work together with the allies to see that during the Vienna negotiations the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe above all is achieved without delay. The unilateral disarmament steps resolved by the USSR, the GDR, and other Warsaw Pact member states will take place as announced without any preconditions. The GDR is consistently representing the point of view

that nowadays concrete steps for more detente, security, and disarmament are in demand. In the next few days on the terrain of the exercises, the observers of the maneuvers have the opportunity to convince themselves of the defensive nature of the training exercises, in accordance with the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states. For the first time this possibility will also be accorded to foreign journalists on troop exercise areas.

Following this, the observers were acquainted with the aim, initial situation, and stages of the exercises on maps and diagrams.

Together with Erhard Mueller, the mayor of Cottbus, those foreign generals, officers, and diplomats taking part in the exercises visited the newly created Cottbus center.

GDR's Fischer Addresses Geneva Arms Forum
*LD1804130389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1005 GMT 18 Apr 89*

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—Realism and foresight demand that we must be resolute in pressing favorable political conditions into the service of disarmament, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said in a speech to the Geneva Disarmament Conference today. The socialist German state is doing all it can to ensure that never again should war, but only peace, emanate from German soil.

Conscious of this responsibility, the GDR has put forward proposals for greater security in central Europe. It has promoted the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the removal of medium-range missiles, and together with its allies it is pursuing the aim at the Vienna negotiations of agreeing a lower level of forces and of all relevant categories of arms.

After the first round of talks it emerges that everyone involved wants reductions under strict verification. This is a good common basis. Also, one cannot overlook differences that must be bridged with goodwill. Over and above one-sided alliance interests, priority must be given to the joint aim of a secure Europe in a safe world.

Before the end of this month, the GDR will begin the unilateral reduction of its forces and defense expenditures. Oskar Fischer reminded his audience of similar steps by other socialist states and called them "unprecedented advance concessions." Now NATO must give a constructive answer.

In Berlin, the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states proposed to NATO that there should be separate negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons in Europe. As long as such weapons remain in Europe, the danger exists of a surprise attack. Plans for nuclear arms in the immediate vicinity of the GDR are a cause for concern. Efforts to achieve disarmament can only be successful if outdated clichés about military strength and the striving for superiority are abandoned.

High priority is being given at the disarmament conference to the banning of chemical weapons. All states possessing such weapons should now stop producing them and begin destroying stocks. The GDR welcomes the decision of the USSR to do this. The interest declared by U.S. President Bush in the banning of chemical weapons could be convincingly demonstrated if the United States renounces further production of binary weapons.

All opportunities for approaching a ban on chemical weapons should be exploited, the foreign minister said. Thus, a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe could be achieved relatively swiftly. The GDR noted with interest the announcement by the United States that it will examine ways of speeding up the removal of its chemical weapons from the FRG. Now it seems the time has arrived

to secure the purposeful drafting of a convention on banning chemical weapons via negotiation at foreign minister level at the disarmament conference.

In view of the tempo of scientific and technological development, any pause in disarmament negotiations promotes the continuation of arms stockpiling. The SDI space armaments program not only brings no benefits to security, but also would further destabilize it. The Geneva Disarmament Conference is the most suitable forum to develop the strategy of a nuclear-weapon-free world. A complete ban on nuclear weapons tests would obstruct the further proliferation and modernization of these weapons. The conference should prepare the ground for this. The test ban would be the crucial test of a will to end the nuclear arms race.

Romanian Envoy Addresses Geneva Conference
*AU1504142689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0818 GMT 15 Apr 89*

["Romanian Representative" Address at Geneva Disarmament Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva AGERPRES, 15/4/1989—Speaking at this year's session of the disarmament conference devoted to the elaboration of a global disarmament program, the Romanian representative showed that disarmament issues should be approached in a unitary way so that accords and measures in this field constitute parts of an aggregate of actions meant to contribute to stability worldwide, not affecting the principle of equal state security to ensure an as stable as possible balance of forces, at ever lower levels. Reference was made to the Romanian concept on the implementation of a complex disarmament program, centered on nuclear disarmament and which should contain measures for the limitation of chemical weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, as well as measures of substantial cuts in conventional arms, troops and military budgets. It was stressed that international peace and security could not be secured through isolated action, by banning and eliminating only one category of arms or another or by maintaining the so-called "nuclear deterrent" or other conceptions promoting the arms race. On the contrary—the speaker pointed out—security can be achieved only through disarmament in all fields, by banning and eliminating nuclear arms, chemical arms and other arms of mass destruction in a comprehensive and coherent process. The question is not to keep still negotiations in any domain but to make progress in all domains.

Emphasis was placed on the continent importance Romania attached to the elaboration and finalization of the global disarmament program at the conference, an action initiated back in 1978. Such a document is meant to give an all-out image on the component parts and aims of disarmament and on the planning of efforts of the international community in time, of measures and actions in this field.

The global disarmament program, the speaker showed, an ideal framework providing for the coherent and connected efforts and measures endorsed bilaterally, regionally and worldwide and also a means and guarantee of all world states' participation and involvement in the disarmament process.

The Romanian representative put forth specific considerations and proposals for the acceleration and finalization of the negotiations in the special committee and its working groups in charge of the elaboration of the draft programme.

Jaroszek Addresses Geneva Disarmament Conference
LD1304151989 Warsaw PAP in English
1252 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] Geneva, April 13—Addressing the Geneva Disarmament Conference, Polish Foreign Vice-Minister Henryk Jaroszek said Thursday that this year's session (of the conference) has started in a favourable international atmosphere that promised concrete results.

Speaking about Poland's stand on the work of the conference, Jaroszek stressed that priority should be given to the conclusion of work on a convention on the complete ban on chemical weapons and the liquidation

of their stockpiles. Poland has been actively participating in this work, he said and added that the Polish side chaired three times the extraordinary committee of the conference for chemical weapons.

Poland is ready to join the convention the moment it is laid out for signature, as we think that it will have an important positive impact on the whole of the international situation. This would mean the elimination of a category of the mass destruction weapons, the international multilateral recognition of the concept of on-demand inspection without the right to refuse and a confirmation of the importance of many-side disarmament efforts, he said.

The speaker presented these activities by the Polish Government that are Poland's original contribution to the process of disarmament and consolidation of peace and security mainly in Europe. Among them there are unilateral cuts in the Polish Armed Forces and armaments. The Polish delegation is also active at the Vienna negotiations of 23 and 35 countries while Poland is developing its new attitude towards the question of disarmament, contained in the Jaruzelski plan on decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, Jaroszek said.

Hungary's Karoly Grosz Continues Visit

Meets With Zhivkov

LD1704132289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] The meeting in Sofia between the Hungarian and Bulgarian party general secretaries continued with a plenary session. The participants exchanged views on interparty cooperation, bilateral relations, and international affairs.

They agreed on the need to modernize the Warsaw Pact and to renew CEMA. Earlier, Karoly Grosz and Todor Zhivkov had a private meeting. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary will return to Budapest later today at the end of his brief working visit.

Continues Talks With Zhivkov

AU1704155689 Sofia BTA in English
1510 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, 17 April (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, and Mr Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] gave an extremely high assessment of Bulgaro-Hungarian relations.

At their meeting which was held here this morning, and which lasted more than two hours, they discussed mainly the state and prospects of bilateral cooperation and the processes of restructuring underway in Bulgaria and Hungary.

Mr Karoly Grosz briefed on the situation in Hungary, on the complicated economic issues, which that country is solving, on the political reform. He spoke in detail about the plenum of the CC of the HSWP which was held last week.

The Bulgarian leader acquainted the guest with the decisions of the 13th Congress of the BCP, with the essence of the July concept developed at the 1987 plenum, with the initiatives in the sphere of economy and culture and in the political super structure.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Karoly Grosz stressed the need of improvement of economic cooperation between the two countries by using more up to date forms: direct relations between the producers, joint participation in third markets, setting up of joint companies. The two sides expressed their wish for the strengthening of the CMEA and its turning into an effective body for economic relations between the socialist states, for their future economic development.

The Bulgarian side expressed the opinion that the reforms which are taking place in the sphere of economy in Bulgaria and Hungary, are to a great extent identical which enables the greater expansion of relations in this sphere.

Later on some other senior officials joined the talks, on the Bulgarian side, Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and Mr Dimitur Stanishchev, secretary of the CC of the BCP while on the Hungarian side, Mr Pal Ivanyi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the HSWP and Mr Geza Kotai, member of the CC of the HSWP, head of "International Party Relations" Department at the CC of the party.

Expressing their satisfaction with the cordial tone of the talks and with the results achieved, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Karoly Grosz stressed their conviction that their present meeting will give a new impetus to the all-round development of relations between Bulgaria and Hungary.

Thanks Zhivkov on Refugees

LD1704212889 Budapest MTI in English
2032 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz and Todor Zhivkov held a two-hour discussion of limited attendance in Sofia on Monday.

Mr Grosz told MTI's correspondent that his Bulgarian partner showed keen interest in the current political processes under way in Hungary.

The HSWP general secretary personally expressed his thanks to Mr Zhivkov and the Bulgarian leadership of the constructive assistance they gave in settling the situation of the Hungarian-speaking Romanian citizens who fled into the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia. "This was one of the aims of my trip," he added.

On reviewing bilateral political ties, it was stated that the two countries' relationship shows no difference in views. The current state of economic cooperation, however, seems to be less favourable because of the decline in turnover. Mr Grosz said that the sides agreed that changing the situation was a common interest, and held identical views on the root of the present problems of the two national economies and the socialist community, as well as on the possible way-out from the current situation.

The talks reflected no difference of opinion as to the international endeavours of the two countries either. The Bulgarian party also received with understanding the Hungarian measures aimed at settling relations with South Korea and Israel. The HSWP general secretary

pointed out that his proposal to rid such working meetings of the previous formalities and concentrate on substantive discussion and progress met with a favourable response. The Sofia discussions were already held in this spirit, Mr Grosz said.

Attends Luncheon

AU1704180489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov today gave a luncheon at the Boyana residence in honor of the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party delegation headed by Karoly Grosz.

The luncheon was attended by BCP Central Committee Politburo members, candidate members, and Central Committee secretaries, as well as by the Hungarian officials who attended the high-level meeting.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Karoly Grosz proposed toasts.

Pre-Departure Statement

AU1804065789 Sofia BTA in English
2115 GMT 17 Apr 89

["Grosz Departure Statement"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—"Our talks were very open, candid and rich in ideas," said Mr Karoly Grosz, secretary general of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (H.S.W.P) before he left after a friendly working visit here. "I am pleased with the useful work we did."

He expressed satisfaction with the interest showed in the life and the reforms in his country. "It was important that I listen to the memories and the views of the veteran secretary general among the socialist countries' communist parties, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, on the historical progress of our cooperation," he went on to say.

The secretary general of the H.S.W.P. emphasized that Hungary and Bulgaria have done much in their development but face problems, too. "Some of these problems, such as the ones in agriculture, are identical, and the H.S.W.P. and the BCP are taking measures to solve them: Both parties' Central Committees will hold plenums on farming policy."

Mr Grosz pointed out that he had also had useful discussions on the settlements and the interests within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and described as "constructive" Mr Todor Zhivkov's idea to promote cooperation on tripartite and quadripartite basis.

"Our talks were not merely an exchange of experience and information. They produced some new ideas and we and our aides will work for their implementation," Mr Karoly Grosz emphasized.

Departs for Budapest

LD1704191689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Zoltan Tamasi report from Sofia; from the "Evening Magazine" program—recorded]

[Text] The most important thing currently at stake for Hungary is to utilize of the opportunity to catch up with Europe, the communique issued on the Bulgarian-Hungarian talks quotes Karoly Grosz as saying. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] general secretary paid a short working visit to Sofia at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and president of the Bulgarian State Council.

The meeting, as the communique points out, took place in a friendly atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual esteem. The working program began with a tete-a-tete discussion. Karoly Grosz discussed the period that has passed since last year's MSZMP national conference which dealt with the changes—which in places have aroused incomprehension in the MSZMP's sister parties—such as the multiparty system.

The general secretaries judged as useful the exchange of views on the transformation problems. Because both countries are progressing on the path of reform, both Bulgaria and Hungary support opening up toward the world, and they also urge reforms not only at the bilateral but also at the international level.

The general secretaries pinpointed, for example, that the two countries' economic and technical-scientific cooperation does not meet the demands of the times. As this is not first and foremost the fault of Bulgaria and Hungary, the two leaders supported the the radical transformation of the CEMA organization.

At the discussion, which turned out to be much longer than planned, some 2-hours long, Todor Zhivkov, the doyen of the socialist countries' party general secretaries, shared his historical experiences with Karoly Grosz.

The MSZMP general secretary also expressed his personal thanks for the goodwill of Todor Zhivkov and the Bulgarian leadership, and for their mediation in seeing that the Magyar refugees from Romania, who spent 5 months in our embassy in Sofia, were finally able to travel to Hungary.

Karoly Grosz invited Todor Zhivkov to visit Hungary, and the latter accepted the invitation. After the tete-a-tete meeting, they held a plenary discussion, in which Hungary's Pal Ivanyi, a member of the MSZMP Politburo, and Geza Kotai, a Central Committee department head, among others, took part.

After the discussions ended, Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honour of Karoly Grosz. In his toast the Bulgarian general secretary alluded to the fact that the

Bulgarian transformation has received great help from Soviet perestroika. In his reply, Karoly Grosz said that there is no general recipe for solving social problems.

The sides agreed that in this regard there is no center, that every country must seek the correct method by taking into consideration its particulars.

In the afternoon the MSZMP general secretary visited the Hungarian Embassy, where the aforementioned refugees stayed for 5 months; he gave a briefing on the Hungarian situation.

The Hungarian delegation flew out of Sofia this evening and is now on its way to Budapest.

'Announcement' on Talks

AU1704191389 Sofia BTA in English
1747 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—The meeting between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Karoly Grosz was held in a friendly atmosphere, in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, says the announcement on the friendly working visit which Mr Karoly Grosz, secretary general of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (H.S.W.P.), paid to Bulgaria on April 16 and 17.

The two party leaders briefed each other on the socio-economic life and on topical questions concerning socialist construction in the two countries, as well as on the work of the BCP and the H.S.W.P.

The announcement says that taking account of the new historic essence of the present age, Bulgaria will increasingly open up to the other countries and will contribute to cooperation and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.

Mr Karoly Grosz reaffirmed that Hungary's future belongs to socialism whose ongoing development requires the implementation of coordinated and vigorous political and economic reforms. An emphasis is laid on the need for the H.S.W.P. to make a special point, in the process of transition to a multi-party system, of clearly vindicating its principal goals, of democratizing further intra-party life, of enlisting broad sections of the party membership in shaping the party's political activity. Only in this way can the H.S.W.P. retain its leading position in the political and economic restructuring.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Karoly Grosz declared themselves in favour of a promotion and utilization of the existing opportunities for wider bilateral cooperation.

The announcement says that the new foreign policy thinking has an ever more tangible influence on international affairs.

The two secretaries general emphasized that the Vienna follow-up conference on security and cooperation in Europe has heralded a new stage in the promotion of the Helsinki process.

Mr Todor Zhivkov assured his guest that the BCP supports the initiative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, of the Italian Socialist Party and of the Finnish Socialdemocratic Party on cooperation among the non-nuclear-weapon states.

Karoly Grosz commended highly Bulgaria's policy aimed at the establishment of a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkan peninsula and at strengthening inter-Balkan understanding and cooperation.

The sides share the view that the Warsaw Treaty Organization is indispensable in the realities existing at this stage. At the same time, it would be expedient to democratize, update and improve the politico-military alliance and to bring its forms and content into line with the modern requirements.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Karoly Grosz believe that socialist economic integration should be accelerated and that the C.M.E.A. should be radically reorganized and perfected. It is necessary to create conditions for the establishment of a single socialist market of the C.M.E.A. member countries. The promotion of socialist market relations in the two countries' national economies is particularly important in this respect.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party deem it necessary to diversify the essence and the forms of cooperation among the communist parties and to intensify the exchanges of experience and information. Mindful of the growing role of political parties in the world, the sides are prepared to enhance their dialogue with socialist, social democratic, bourgeois and other parties and political forces.

Mr Karoly Grosz invited Mr Todor Zhivkov to visit Hungary. The invitation was accepted.

MTI Carries 'Communique'

LD1704205589 Budapest MTI in English
2009 GMT 17 Apr 89

["Grosz in Bulgaria—Communique"—MTI headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, paid a friendly, working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on April 16-17, 1989. He was the guest of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mr Grosz stressed that Hungary's future is believed to lie in socialism, the road to which leads through stability, and the dynamic, concerted implementation of political and economic reforms. He called the current Hungarian events to be of historic importance, where the stake is to take the chance of catching up with the pace of European development.

Mr Grosz and Mr Zhivkov pointed with satisfaction to the successful development of bilateral links. On the other hand, they stated that the level of economic, technical and scientific cooperation fail to meet the requirements of the age. Therefore, they urged the introduction of new, up-to-date forms in the field. The parties also placed strong emphasis on the consistent implementation of inter-state agreements.

In connection with major international issues, the parties attached priority to safeguarding world peace, strengthening security and mutual confidence and improving European cooperation on the basis of mutual advantages. Due to the active foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty member states and the realistic attitude of Western circles and politicians, the initial results are already on hand.

The general secretaries agreed on the continued need for the Warsaw Treaty amid the realities of the world today. At the same time, they found it purposeful to render the political-military alliance more democratic and more up-to-date. The parties took a stand for a radical reform of the organization of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and called for creating conditions for the setting up of the future socialist common market of the CMEA members. They attached outstanding importance to establishing the national market economies of the member countries.

The HSWP and the BCP deemed it necessary to augment the content and forms of cooperation between the communist parties and improve the exchange of experience

and information. The parties expressed readiness for intensifying dialogue with the socialist, social democratic, bourgeois and other parties and political forces.

Zhivkov Border Meeting With Papandreou Set
AU1704171089 Sofia BTA in English
1651 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (BTA)—By mutual agreement, Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mr Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, will hold a working meeting at the Bulgaro-Greek border on April 22 and 23, 1989.

CSSR Cooperation Talks Open in Prague 17 Apr
AU1804065889 Sofia BTA in English
2140 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Prague, April 16 (BTA)—The Mixed Bulgaro-Czechoslovak Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation opened its 27th session in Prague today.

The fulfilment of the tasks ensuing from the long-term programme for economic and techno-scientific cooperation between the two countries, signed last April in Sofia by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Milos Jakes, which opens wide-ranging opportunities for new, still more effective forms of specialisation and cooperation, will be high on the session's agenda. The participants will also consider questions concerning the establishment of direct contacts between enterprises and economic organisations in the two countries, the setting up of joint ventures and the exchange of consumer goods and the promotion of tourist contacts.

The session will discuss the coordination of the economic development plans for the 1991-1995 period and cooperation in such areas as mechanical engineering, the motor industry, electronics, the chemical industry, metallurgy and agriculture.

Alexander Dubcek Interviewed on 'Prague Spring'
*LD1804005689 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1905 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] Our viewers know that "Panorama" has launched a series on the future of central and Eastern Europe. However, we can talk about our present and our future only if we face up to the past, for example, to the grave omissions and faults of the Brezhnev period, which directly generated the crisis of the socialist systems. We must know what happened in our country in 1956 and after 1956, or, for example, in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Of course, everyone himself must acknowledge the past and pour clean water into the glass. That is why we are calling on and making the politicians speak who played some kind of role in the dramatic events of the past half-century. We, naturally, would not like to intervene in others' affairs, and we are not doing so. You have already heard many kinds of opinions, which often are opposed to one another, and you shall hear more of them in the future from the performers of "Panorama's" colorful portrait gallery.

Now Alexander Dubcek, the one-time secretary general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], who was shunted aside, the main performer of the 1968 Prague events, the Prague Spring, states his opinion on what happened. On this occasion, we are presenting excerpts from the nearly 3-hour sensational interview, but we shall return to it:

[Begin recording] [Dubcek in Slovak with superimposed Hungarian translation] I attacked the previous policy in 1967 because I was dissatisfied with it. That is when I formulated the most important and most determining thing, that the party must work according to a program, since the party had no program. Therefore, it had to elaborate a new political program; the party could not govern, the party should lead. Governing is the matter of government, and if one wants to lead, he can lead the people only on the basis of some program, and people should voluntarily follow the party.

[Correspondent] So, in this manner you launched the Prague Spring. However, let us turn to the international aspect of events. Brezhnev supposedly said at the time: Our Sasha has achieved power in Czechoslovakia. Everything will be in order. However, a certain tension soon began to characterize your relationship with Brezhnev and the Soviet leadership. Moscow soon began to criticize your policy. How did you notice the first signs that what you were doing did not please Brezhnev and the Soviet leadership?

[Dubcek] Well, the first symptom, which was not entirely clear, was as follows: It happened at the Central Committee session in February of 1968. Naturally I wanted

our allies in the Warsaw Pact to be aware that in foreign policy, we wanted to maintain the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, and that we would cooperate in the future in this sphere.

Nowadays I am criticized because I supposedly let Brezhnev dictate to me, that I let myself be influenced, and that for this reason I modified the text of my report. But that is not so. I took out two, three, or four paragraphs—entire paragraphs—but in a manner so that the basic thought would not disappear. To what did they object? Look, I do not remember this exactly, the things concerning the situation of the party, the working class, which are now natural in Hungary, natural with Gorbachev. However, I already knew this at that time. Of course, I left the basic thought. I thought: Oops! This will be quite an obstacle!

Thus, after a time, Brezhnev took note of us. I know now, but I did not know then, that he was secretly informed in this-or-that-manner, that this or that was being prepared in our country. Well, of course he was informed. When the first meeting, the Dresden meeting, took place, I felt that from the viewpoint of the CPSU leadership, the main problem was caused by things related to our program—the program.

When the Moscow CPSU leadership convened the Dresden meeting, I asked: What will happen there? They said: We will consult only about economic matters, about this, about that. Well, I said, all right. I will talk to the premier and the chairman of the Planning Office. At that time, Lenart was the premier and Cernik was the chairman of the Planning Office.

Ah yes, we went to Dresden. Everyone was there: Kadar, Gomulka, Ulbricht. The entire body, that is, our body at that time. I sat down and I saw that I was facing a real synod. I thought, where have I ended up?

[Correspondent] Like a court, a tribunal...

[Dubcek] Like when Jan Hus arrived in Constance, I thought. Well, was I before a Synod, or was I at a consultation of Communist Party leaders? So what else could I have done? At first I paid attention to what was being discussed, and then came the question: What is happening in your country? A free press... You have let go of the reins too much. You are not controlling things, they said.

[Correspondent] Scouts were organizing themselves.

[Dubcek] We abolished censorship. To this, they asked, why are you writing this? What are you writing? They also said this or that is anti-Soviet. But no: [words indistinct due to correspondent's interruption]

This was not at all a consultation; it was an (?awkward) meeting, which did not even reach the level of a residential street meeting. If, let us say, important things had

been discussed—but to talk about what was happening here and what could, and what could not, be let out of our hands—these were not important things. But do you know what the essence was? That this was merely the surface. This was not the essence, because they did not object to anything in the program. However, they had information regarding the action program the people were preparing. This is what they were least able to explain. Propaganda is unable to cope with this, to this very day.

We adopted the action program, but no trace can be found that they might have taken action at any time against the action program. Why not? It would have meant they were turning against the party program. Instead of this, they said: The anti-Soviet forces, or forces of this-or-that-type are gaining the opportunity to speak in your country.

However, at present, 20 years later, we know that what was the essence was not that someone spoke somewhere in a club, and he said something which I did not even like at the time. We cannot be so naive as to think that everyone is a believer in socialism.

[Correspondent] There in Dresden, in front of, I could say, the court, did you not feel any difference between, let us say, Brezhnev and Kosygin, or between Kadar and Ulbricht?

[Dubcek] Naturally, the most aggressive, or the most passionate, the wildest manifestations, were always from Brezhnev. But, well, he was the main performer; he was the politician to whom everyone paid attention, to whom everyone had to adjust. Everyone had to nod to what he, the boss, said. For this reason, do not be surprised if I say that he always stood forth as the first and the most important person. He was, let me say, the most principled in everything, in their parlance.

Of course, one does not have to be too much of an investigator of mentalities to feel what I, for example, felt with Kadar. I do not know why, but in the (?hall) I did not sit beside Ulbricht, nor did I sit next to Kosygin, with whom I would have had much greater ease in speaking Russian, but I saw Kadar, and I sat, rather, next to Kadar. If someone were now to ask why I went over to Kadar, I would reply that I do not know. I felt, somewhere, that I must sit over there. That is my opinion, and that is how I feel now. I saw in him a slightly different person than in the others present. This was not only because he suffered in the past, but because I thought that at least with him I could find a kind of understanding, which he would express, voice, to the others.

But, even here, in Dresden, Kadar did not act by saying that they should wait, that the Czechoslovaks had developed some kind of policy, they should hear them out regarding what they want to do and how; They have some goal, what is their plan? So, he should have done something like that.

You know—the fear, or obedience, that was developed: that if the CPSU leadership said something, it must be agreed with to the last word; that it was necessary to have unconditional trust in them, and that everything must happen according to their instructions. That was the custom.

Here there appeared something that diverged from this custom; they immediately told us: You are drawing yourselves out of the principles of cooperation and internationalism. But no, that was not true.

[Correspondent] In the same year, you arrived in Budapest at Kadar's invitation. How did your personal relations continue to develop?

[Dubcek] I will tell you the truth. I felt Kadar to be very close to me. You mean when I was in Budapest?

[Correspondent] Yes.

[Dubcek] In the summer of 1968, I was in your country at the head of a party and government delegation, to put into final form and sign the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Military Assistance Treaty. In principle, we are close to one another, or as you say.... Well, with this treaty, as well, we strengthened our friendship. So, with this I have replied to your question.

Our picture of the future was that since we were linked to our southern neighbors, the Hungarians, by the revolutionary past, development would continue to take shape in the spirit of cooperation. Now, as you know, the result was not good.

[Correspondent] Did Kadar not give you advice, for example: Look here, Comrade Dubcek, you want something good. We, too, would like economic reforms. Well, why do you not act a bit more discretely with the Russians? Perhaps this could also be done differently. Did he not give you such advice? Even as a somewhat older person than you?

[Dubcek] When I spoke with him, he mostly said to me that the articles, opinions of this-or-that-type, should not be published in the press. It was not possible to say of us that we might have staged an onslaught on the Soviet leadership in some manner. Look, when we began to work on the action program, what was the sole deed that I might have done, thereby pleasing the Soviets? What did they expect of me? That I should halt the whole thing? [words indistinct]

[Correspondent, interrupting] ...Everyone into prison.

[Dubcek] ...that I should halt the whole thing. So, if I can put it this way, I was the father who gave birth to the reform idea. Many people, however dispute this.

They try to reduce my role as if all of this were a lie. At the same time, I was supposed to dig the grave for what I, naturally together with my associates, had endeavored to create. That is, I was not even the slightest bit aggressive vis-a-vis the Soviet leadership.

I always took action only so we would get adequate scope for the realization of this new policy. You must understand one thing: Neither Kadar nor the others were willing to discuss how we wanted to reform the economy, or what kind of enterprise law we had elaborated. No. They came, they brought a pile of newspaper cuttings, and Brezhnev, and the second, and the third [not further identified] looked at the articles. Then they said: What is this for? Why had this organization been formed? They said that in the (?K-235) Club, X or Y has spoken out against the party. I told Kadar, Tito, and the others that we would restrict these extremes. I myself felt that they were working against us.

However, if I now examine these matters, oh my god, how insignificant they were as compared to the glory of God! For me, the glory of God was the nation, the movement—that was everything. They later overemphasized the extreme side-effects, because, as they say in our country: He who wants to beat a dog will always find a stick. We took measures, but the trouble happened in the end. I say with sorrow that I was hoping that in the end, Kadar would say no, this cannot be, or that Gomulka would find the strength in himself. That is what I was thinking of, rather.

[Correspondent] Was it a personal disappointment for you?

[Dubcek] I had internal feelings that if this solution were, after all, to be mentioned, someone would openly say: Wait, let us think over what we are doing, or that perhaps someone would openly oppose the CPSU leadership of the time and would not give an army, soldiers, since we, too, are members of the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact Organization cannot pass any resolution and it cannot launch a campaign against a socialist country without its [the socialist country's] approval. For this reason, I hoped that this would not happen.

[Correspondent] On 20 August, how did the news reach you that foreign troops had stepped onto the soil of Czechoslovakia?

[Dubcek] It was late at night. A minister called me, and Cernik, the premier, also telephoned. It was necessary to verify whether it was really true that they had crossed the border. So it was who knows what time at night.

[Correspondent] And by then, they had occupied Prague airport, Ruzyně.

[Dubcek] Then we passed a resolution according to which the whole thing was unlawful, contrary to the agreements, contrary to our relations, and no one had

called them in. However, the Soviet ambassador to the United States delivered a note addressed to the President saying that some people had called them in. In later publications, this is also what they referred to, to this invitation. However, already during that night, we announced on the radio that no one had called them in, neither the president of the Republic, nor the first secretary, nor the president of the National Assembly, nor the president of the National Front. Indeed, from these institutions there was no one who endorsed this, and nothing of this type was made public. This slowed down the action.

We remained in the Central Committee headquarters, and as is customary at such time in civilized states, we waited for someone who might come sometime, and, who knows, perhaps...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Hand over a note.

[Dubcek] Yes, or for someone who had authorization to say something to the first secretary or to the chairman of government to come. This did not happen. But then, in the end they came, in order to arrest us.

[Correspondent] Soldiers?

[Dubcek] Soldiers.

[Correspondent] Armed Soviet soldiers?

[Dubcek] Yes, but these are very unpleasant memories.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, how many were there—2, 3?

[Dubcek] How many were there?... 8, 10.

[Correspondent] Straight into your study?

[Dubcek] Yes, into my study. He aimed at me, they ripped out the telephone and said: Remain seated. Well, we waited. Then came our AVO [State Security Department] boys as well. Well, should I fight with them? There was no sense in that.

At first came Smrkovsky, president of Parliament, then Kriegel, president of the National Front. They were then led away separately to (?another place)

I was arrested on behalf of the revolutionary court, the revolutionary government. I said to them: How is this? Who is leading this revolutionary government.

Later, I was taken to Poland, somewhere in the mountains. Then we were somewhere in other mountains—somewhere, perhaps near Transcarpathia. We were there until we were summoned. At first, I was the one who was summoned. I went over there. There was a member of the KGB, who was responsible for me. Well, he came and said: They had instructed the county party committee that I should go to the telephone.

[Correspondent] Which county was it?

[Dubcek] It was Uzhgorod.

[Correspondent] So, Uzhgorod.

[Dubcek] Then they gave me glasses, probably so that I would not be recognized. Well, there I was at the telephone, and speaking on the line was Podgornyy, who at the time was chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Correspondent] Head of state.

[Dubcek] Podgornyy said that on behalf of the highest Soviet leadership, he proposed that I should fly to Moscow to hold talks. I asked who would be there and where were the others, since several of us had been arrested, some even who were not there? In the end, I answered that I wanted to go back to where I had been dragged away from. I would not go to Moscow alone—that was my resolute decision. I would not go, I would stay here. And how would they hold talks at all with me—as a prisoner or as what?

To this he said: How can you say such a thing. I said: How have I ended up here, and why am I here? At this point he began again: Well, you still could do this. I said: If the others do not come, then I won't go anywhere either, and I concluded the (?conversation).

Then they obviously conferred, and they obviously needed me, because they assented to the others coming, as well. In the end, we met in Moscow.

[Correspondent] Allow me to ask a question in order to test a theory. It is said in Hungary that Janos Kadar could have said no to the intervention in Czechoslovakia, thereby saying no to Brezhnev. He could have said: Comrade Brezhnev, we support you in principle; but since there are 700,000 Magyars living in southern Slovakia, we are linked by an especially particular relationship to Czechoslovakia. Therefore, we cannot send soldiers. Only, according to the theory, Janos Kadar feared for his reform plans in Hungary and for his plans related to Hungarian independent internal policy. Supposedly, that is why he took part, together with the other four Warsaw Pact member countries, in the armed military intervention. But he did so very reluctantly, and 2 months later, in October, he was the first to withdraw the Hungarian troops from Slovakia. What do you say to this theory?

[Dubcek] I believe that it is not possible to agree with what you say, that Kadar in practice might have wanted, by this, to protect some kind of Hungarian reforms. In my opinion, it is by agreeing to the intervention that he buried the Hungarian reforms, because the deed is the essence—not what one thinks, but what kinds of effects his deeds generate. The reform movement here was stopped not only in Czechoslovakia, but in the Soviet Union and in Hungary, too, 20 years ago.

What kind of reform movement remained in Hungary after this? Please, did they then have, perhaps, some kind of comprehensive political reform program, as far as I know about this from here and there in the press? In our country, not everything is written about Hungary, since you also are considered revisionists. If I project your current reform policy to the year 1968, then you are revisionists to an increased extent. However, I do not want to offend the Hungarian leadership. Yet if I look at the proportions and at the qualifications passed at the Warsaw meeting, then there now are super-revisionists in Hungary.

Why am I mentioning this? In my view, Kadar and Gomulka ought to have done everything in their power. They are the only ones who could have prevented this measure.

[Correspondent] What would have happened, then?

[Dubcek] The situation, then, would have appeared as follows: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland—no matter how we take it, Romania at the time would also have stood on this side, not to mention Yugoslavia. Because in connection with the Warsaw decision, we proposed that there be a consultation, yes, but we should also invite the Yugoslavs, since Yugoslavia was also a socialist country.

So, if things had developed differently, if, from among other countries, others had said no—I at the time did not know that the French and the Italians had sent a letter to Brezhnev, that they did not agree with him, and they did not support his demands. And if Kadar or someone else had said the same... [changes thought] You say that Kadar was protecting Hungary. But what did he protect? A preservation of the Brezhnev system. Was it necessary for Hungary to preserve the Brezhnev system? No, that is not what it needed. In my view, it would have needed to protect the reform movement in Czechoslovakia, so that by this things should move forward in Hungary, too. However, what happened hampered the whole thing.

[Correspondent] What would have happened if Kadar had said (?he could not assent to it)?

[Dubcek] In my view, he would have put Brezhnev in a very difficult situation.

[Correspondent] But he could have removed Kadar.

[Dubcek] In my view Kadar had no reason for anxiety. Because this Central Committee constituted an absolute support for him. To take action against this sovereign Central Committee, to intervene—we were not in 1956. This was not feasible, this was precluded. Because what would have happened without the Hungarian Army, if the Hungarian troops had not crossed the Czechoslovak border? Would the Bulgarian army and the Germans have turned against Budapest? In my view this is not feasible. Therefore, I do not know. I do not want to be unjust, but I think it was a big political mistake.

History has proved that Kadar's having assented to the Hungarian Army taking part in the intervention was an enormous political and moral mistake. It had a bad effect on our good neighborly relations. It was all the same whether the soldiers were here for 1, 2, 3 days or for 2 weeks.

[Correspondent] What do you know about, and what is your opinion of, the current Hungarian reforms, the processes leading toward pluralism, the development of the country's institutions, the changes taking place in our country?

[Dubcek] One can only regret that Hungary lost 20 years. If at the time, a Gorbachev-type leadership had headed the Soviet Union, and if such a movement could have asserted itself in Czechoslovakia, I am convinced that we would have been successful. If at the time the Soviet leaders had been like they are now, in that they are close to us ideologically, they understand the necessity of technical scientific revolution, of pluralism, they understand that the entire direction system must be changed, in my belief things would not have developed in this manner.

And where would the Soviet Union be now if it had started work on it 20 years ago? Unfortunately, the Gorbachev-type leadership is compelled to lug a very weighty legacy. A lot that was bad was left for it, and it is not perestroika that is to blame. Gorbachev now wants to put things in order. However, this transformation has been delayed. For this reason, extreme phenomena also come forth, and it is very difficult to keep these under control. Why? Because very many bad things have accumulated, in nationality policy, in the economy, in culture, in human relations—and it is difficult to cure this.

I welcome what is now happening in Hungary. I wish success to the Hungarians. Of course, things do not always go as one imagines. But I believe that if we get beyond the difficulties, of which there are an abundance in the Soviet Union, in our country, and everywhere, in the end there will be success in renewing socialism. It should create something new, because too many blows, far too many blows, have been levelled on socialism.

14 Apr Presidium Meeting Discusses Jakes Trip
LD1404154689 Prague CTK in English
1451 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee discussed at its session here today the results of party General Secretary Milos Jakes's visits to Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Syria.

The Presidium was acquainted with a proposal for actions ensuring the widest possible application of the new economic mechanism by January 1, 1990, and also dealt with a government bill on national economic planning to be discussed by the Czechoslovak Federal

Assembly. Its main aim is to improve in the legal norm new methods of the creation of a plan and organization of the planning process corresponding to the demands of restructuring.

The Presidium took note of the principles of the law on banks and savings banks based on the requirement of separating the banks' credit commercial activity from the activity of issue. It also stressed the need to strengthen economic independence of commercial banks and savings banks.

The Party Presidium highly appreciated the results of Milos Jakes's talks with Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean representatives and the identity or closeness of views on all questions discussed, stressing that they represent a step towards deepening friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and these countries and their parties. The Presidium spoke in favor of the further extension of mutually advantageous economic cooperation with these countries, and of the search for new ways and forms of its development. It voiced agreement with the agreed plans of cooperation between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea for 1990-1991.

The Presidium also fully approved the support voiced by the delegation to the joint statement of the Kampuchean, Laotian and Vietnamese Governments on complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea stressing that it is an important step towards a just solution of the Kampuchean issue and installation of peace, stability, cooperation and mutual confidence in South-East Asia.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium voiced satisfaction over the current all-round development of Czechoslovak-Syrian relations and appreciated bilateral interest in their extension. It stressed the need to search for new forms of cooperation.

The supreme party body also positively evaluated the identical stands of Czechoslovakia and Syria on the key problems of the international political development, and voiced support to the effort of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and the Syrian Government and people for a comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East crisis.

Jakes Departs on Working Visit to Soviet Union
LD1704151189 Prague CTK in English
1434 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes left today for a working visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

RUDE PRAVO Answers Readers' Questions
AU1304123289

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 April, page 3, under the headline "They Asked Also In Your Stead," carries a 3,300-word "part of a transcript" of a "discussion with RUDE PRAVO readers" held at Sobeslav, South Bohemia, during which a group of RUDE PRAVO staff journalists replied to various questions concerning "topical issues of domestic and foreign policy." The date of the discussion is not given. The questions included in the RUDE PRAVO "transcript" range from the situation in Afghanistan and the background of the Rushdie affair to drugs in performance sports and the future employment of administrative staff laid off during the current staff cuts in central agencies.

One reader points out that in a number of recent elections of enterprise directors, the candidate did not pass, and asks whether this was a result of a bad selection of candidates or "a reflection of the party's present authority among the employees of these enterprises."

The question is answered by Vladimir Cechlovsky, head of RUDE PRAVO's economic and social policy department. Cechlovsky attributes the fact that "some elections of directors were not successful at the very first time" to the "insufficient attention" which some founders had devoted to the selection of candidates, to the scant use which they had made of "competitive bidding" in selecting candidates, and to their "disregard, particularly at the beginning, for the fact that people want to have several candidates to choose from." Cechlovsky also argues that even when a director is elected in the first round, this "does not have to be evidence of successful elections. In some cases, candidates were victorious in the first round who had based their election program more on appealing slogans than on the frank explanation of the need to raise labor and technological discipline, the quality of products, and so forth." Replying to the second part of the question, Cechlovsky asserts that "the overall results of the elections testify to the enhancement of the party's authority among the working people."

Another reader wants to know whether it is true that the Temelin nuclear power station is being constructed on top of a geological fault and whether "this is not dangerous." RUDE PRAVO commentator Stanislav Stibor replies that this "claim arrived in our country from the West" and that it was made by West German and Austrian media "with reference to a source at an establishment belonging to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences." Stibor admits that in the late seventies and the early eighties, establishments of the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences surveyed and selected Czechoslovak sites for the construction of nuclear power stations, and that since these studies "are not confidential, they could therefore be disseminated abroad." However, according to Stibor, the study of the academy's Geophysics Institute "confirmed a very good seismic

stability" of the Temelin locality and the concluding reports pointed out that "given even the maximum intensity of any future earthquake that might extend to this area from epicenters in the eastern Alps, no damage could occur to standard buildings." This means, Stibor continues, that "such damage is even less likely at nuclear power engineering buildings and facilities, which are constructed with regard for increased safety against such influences." As for the geological fault, Stibor points out that "the concluding reports state that in the general surroundings of the Temelin nuclear power station, one definitely cannot expect any major systemic disorder, let alone an active geological fault."

One reader inquires about the status of tennis player Ivan Lendl. His question is answered by Vladimir Slobodzian from the paper's sports and physical education department. Slobodzian says that last year, Lendl asked the Czechoslovak authorities for a "non-resident passport," [vystehovalecky pas] which would allow him to retain his Czechoslovak citizenship, and that "a few days ago our authorities complied with his request" so that he will be granted this passport.

One of the next questions concerns the share of the Czech lands and of Slovakia in generated and distributed national income. In his reply, Vladimir Cechlovsky says: "The Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] has been gradually increasing its share in generated national income. Over the past 40 years, generated per-capita national income in the Czech SR increased 5 times and in the Slovak SR, 7 times. By 1987, the share of the Slovak SR in national income generated in the CSSR (excluding foreign trade) reached 30.4 percent. This represents Kcs30,202 per inhabitant of the Slovak SR and Kcs34,913 per inhabitant of the Czech SR."

"As regards the distribution of national income, in the past it was necessary to proceed from the need to bring the two republics to roughly equal economic levels. As the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party noted, the socioeconomic levels of the two republics have been essentially equalized. In 1987, the share of the Slovak SR in distributed CSSR national income amounted to 30.8 percent. The main thing from now on will be to limit the considerable redistribution processes between the state budgets of the federation and the two republics, to beef up the republics' own revenues, and to apply longer-term and uniform normative relations in distributing and using financial resources."

One reader says that he heard that "emigre Ota Sik had presented a new economic concept in Budapest" and asks whether this is true. The question is answered by Jaroslav Kojzar, RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor. His reply reads: "Let us recall that after his emigration, Ota Sik hastened to declare that, internally, he had parted with Marxism as early as the fifties. In the seventies he then came up with his concept of the so-called third path, which is neither capitalism nor socialism. It is true that Ota Sik was in Sopron in

February as one of the guests of an international conference dealing with "determining economic policy in the socialist countries in the period of transition." The daily NEPSZABADSAG also spoke to him. Even in this interview he advocated the so-called third path of economic development and, at the same time, specified his ideas. Supposedly, state enterprises in the socialist countries should now change into shareholding companies, with 50 percent of the shares in the hands of the working people and the second half in the hands of the state. Supposedly, this will give the employees a chance to have a say in the operations of these enterprises. As for capitalism, he would like monopolies to surrender a part of their profits for the benefit of the working people. Apparently, he again has in mind a certain percentage of shares, but does not specify what percentage. However, he does not say anywhere how he will force these monopolies to comply with his visions."

The last two questions query RUDE PRAVO's support for the planned construction of a television transmitter in the "Palava" conservation area. In his reply, Stanislav Stibor argues that the operation of the transmitter will not endanger the surrounding environment and that the Ministry of Transportation and Communications has provided "guarantees" that no damage will result from construction (mainly because most construction materials are to be delivered by helicopter). Asked why Czechoslovakia is building so many television transmitters instead of promoting direct reception of the television signal from satellite, Stibor replies that satellite broadcasting is very expensive and that the planned launching of the socialist countries' joint satellite is "behind schedule, precisely for reasons of [disagreements about] sharing the financial costs," and that "the earliest day of its launching is now 1993." He also says that, even after the start of satellite broadcasting, most viewers will depend on ground transmitters for the reception of the television signal because of the cost of parabolic antennas and other necessary equipment.

Nuclear Safety Accord Signed With U.S.
AU1704141289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
15 Apr 89 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny dispatch: "A Nuclear Safety Accord With the United States Aimed at Helping To Improve

the Exchange of Experience in Enhancing the Safety in Nuclear Power Plant Operations"]

[Text] Washington (By our reporter)—Lando Zech, chairman of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and Stanislav Havel, chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, have signed an organizational accord on the exchange of technical information, knowledge, and experience in providing for the safe operation of nuclear power plants and facilities between their two institutions. The accord, signed on the premises of the U.S. commission's headquarters in Rockville, near Washington, on Friday [14 April], also envisages an exchange of experts.

This accord is the second of its kind signed by the United States with any socialist country. (The first was concluded with the USSR in 1988.) In replying to a question asked by our RUDE PRAVO reporter, the chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, S. Havel, stated that the accord is advantageous for both sides since it will help to make the operations of nuclear power plants in both countries much safer. The United States currently has 110 nuclear power plants in operation with a total capacity of 100,000 megawatts of installed output—the highest in the world. In this sphere the United States is among the top countries in the world and its experience is of interest to us.

S. Havel then stated that "the fact that the United States is interested in exchanging experience with our country confirms the good reputation enjoyed by our nuclear power program in the world. We have agreed with our American partners that the exchange of experience in supervisory and control activities and also in the sphere of approval processes, inspections, the education of operating staff, and the issuing of generally binding regulations is of particular significance."

The Czechoslovak delegation also included Jiri Kubicek, director of the Skoda concern in Plzen. When asked what had interested the American partners most, he replied: the long-term prospects of our nuclear power engineering. For instance, the Westinghouse firm, an outstanding world producer of nuclear power installations, has shown specific interest in cooperation with the Skoda concern in the technical and commercial spheres.

CSSR Premier Adamec Arrives, Met by Stoph

LD1704091889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0658 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec arrived for a friendly working visit in the GDR this morning.

He was invited by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, who cordially welcomed his guest and the accompanying delegation at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

Stoph-Adamec Talks Open

LD1704135889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1238 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph and CSSR Council of Ministers Chairman Ladislav Adamec conducted official talks in Berlin Monday. The extensive exchange of views focused on socialist construction in the two states, the state of and outlook for bilateral relations, as well as the common work for peace, disarmament, and cooperation in Europe.

Stoph emphasized that the deepening of cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states has great importance for the further shaping of advanced socialist society in the GDR. While discussing bilateral relations Stoph and Adamec stressed the importance of the meeting between Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes in Berlin in March 1988 which had given a strong impulse to further cooperation. They noted that the stipulations of the general secretaries are being purposefully realized. Favorable preconditions exist for a new quality in cooperation between the two states and peoples in the political, economic, and cultural areas.

Stoph and Adamec said that bilateral economic relations are developing steadily on the basis of the joint program up to the year 2000. The joint efforts aim above all at concentrating cooperation for mutual benefit on key technologies and their application to production. The two chairmen agreed that the coordination of the national economic plans will also in future remain the main instrument for the methodical development and deepening of economic scientific-technological cooperation.

Referring to current issues of the international situation, Stoph and Adamec pointed to the significance of the latest meeting of the foreign ministers committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Berlin for peace, detente, and disarmament, for a fundamental amelioration of the situation in Europe and the world. They expressed their full agreement with the latest far-reaching peace and disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union and recalled the joint initiatives of the GDR and the CSSR for a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe. These initiatives aimed at eliminating mass destruction weapons and at strengthening security, confidence, and cooperation in that region.

Talks With Honecker

LD1704181189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1614 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government and member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Presidium, have acknowledged the good state of the traditional friendly relations between the GDR and the CSSR and the close and fruitful cooperation in all spheres of political, economic, and cultural life, achieved in the implementation of the agreements reached at the highest level. During talks today in Berlin, the two interlocutors emphasized that Ladislav Adamec's visit would give new impetus particularly to the economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

Ladislav Adamec explained the CPCZ's approach in the implementation of the acceleration of socioeconomic development resolved by the 17th party congress. He emphasized that here the CPCZ can count on the agreement and the initiative of the workers. The far-reaching process of reform introduced under the leadership of the CPCZ in preparation for the 18th Party Congress was aiming at socialism's greater ability to perform.

Erich Honecker briefed Ladislav Adamec about the 7th SED Central Committee session resolutions for the further successful implementation of the demanding tasks of the 11th party congress. He referred to the workers' great efforts to prepare with dignity for the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR and for the 12th SED Congress. They are a solid foundation to fulfill increasingly well the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and to heighten the attractiveness of socialism. The SED has always taken the dialectic unity of continuity and renewal into consideration and has used the experiences of the socialist fraternal countries.

Erich Honecker and Ladislav Adamec expressed the fact that the close and firm bonds between the GDR and the CSSR are a cornerstone for stability, security, and peace in Europe. They spoke unanimously in favor of further consolidating and extending the fraternal alliance between the two states on the basis of trusting cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ.

The interlocutors reaffirmed their countries' determination, also in the future and in strong alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to do everything in order to banish once and for all the danger of war and to give a lasting and irreversible character to the change for the better in international relations. In this connection they referred to the great significance of the document for further improvement in the international situation and the immediate continuation of the disarmament process, adopted in Berlin by the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers committee.

CSSR Foreign Trade Minister Discusses Talks
*LD1704204589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1652 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Czechoslovakia has the best and closest of relations with the GDR in the political, economic, and cultural areas. Jan Sterba, CSSR foreign trade minister, stated this in Berlin today at an international news conference after official talks in the GDR capital.

Eleven international governmental agreements had been concluded on the basis of the long-term CSSR-GDR program for the development of cooperation in the areas of science, technology, and production by the year 2000, signed in 1985. As the minister said at his briefing, they include very progressive areas of cooperation, such as electronics, robotics, machine tool construction, and petrochemistry, as well as the development of new materials. Both countries are each other's second largest trading partner after the USSR.

The good state of cooperation achieved is shown in the proportion of 43 percent of specialization and cooperation in the total exchange of goods. The heads of government, Ladislav Adamec and Willi Stoph, stated during their talks that very good results had been achieved in bilateral cooperation.

The minister then went on to give a briefing on details of his country's economic reform, by which the CSSR's national economy was aiming for further progress in productivity and efficiency.

He went on to state that currently around 1,000 factories in the GDR and the CSSR have direct relations with very tangible results in machine tool, agricultural machinery, and textile machinery construction, as well as in truck production. An agreement was being prepared on judicial assistance on civil and family cases. The minister gave the following figures on travel between the two countries: in 1988 9.5 million GDR citizens visited the CSSR and stayed 2.6 days on average, while 2.4 million tourists from the CSSR visited the GDR and stayed 3.5 days.

He pointed out measures by the GDR which had created further possibilities on the Baltic coast and Mecklenburg Lakes mainly for CSSR citizens. Pavel Sadovsky, first

deputy foreign minister added that above and beyond the existing, traditional agreements and links between regions and towns in both countries, in the future factories, schools, and other institutions will increasingly be able to cultivate twinning and other cultural relations. The "green light" has been given for enterprises above all developing broad bonds of friendship.

Polish Minister on Oder Bay Treaty Confirmation
*LD1704164689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1605 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Poland, confirmed yesterday on Polish television that Poland and the GDR are very close to an agreement on the demarcation of the Oder Bay sea areas, "which takes into consideration the interests of the two sides."

During a meeting in the GDR, experts from the two countries will in the next few days put the finishing touches, within the framework of negotiations, to the text of a document, "which the two sides will sign with pleasure."

The signing of the agreement will not only be of significance for Poland and the GDR but also for the whole community of states.

3,000 Political Prisoners Reportedly Held in GDR
*LD1804100889 Hamburg DPA in German
0914 GMT 18 Apr 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to the "13 August Working Group," there are currently some 3,000 political prisoners in the GDR. About 800 are prisoners awaiting trial, the working group said today. Since an amnesty was proclaimed in autumn 1987 these are people who have recently been arrested.

With the exception of 150 prisoners in Bauzen Prison, most of them were sentenced for attempted escape or "impairment of state and social activity." Other sentences were handed down because of "illegal establishment of contracts" and "public disparagement." Nearly all those sentenced were connected with the expressed wish to leave.

The figures mentioned by the working group are based on 300 reports from people recently released who during the past 6 months have made written statements to the working group.

Deputy Foreign Minister Holds Talks in Israel

LD1304220989 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is in Israel for talks. On his arrival, the official expressed the hope that his talks could contribute to the resumption of Hungarian-Israeli ambassadorial level relations. He added, however, that in the interests of these, there is still a great deal to be done, and that the development of the situation in the Middle East must by all accounts be taken into consideration.

Meets Israel's Arens

LD1604185989 Budapest MTI in English
1744 GMT 16 Apr 89

[Text] Tel Aviv, April 16 (MTI)—Laszlo Kovacs, Hungarian deputy foreign minister, paid a visit to Israel between April 12 and 16 as the guest of the Israeli Government. Mr Kovacs was also received by Moshe Arens, Israeli foreign minister.

Bilateral relations were surveyed at discussions held between Mr Kovacs and Benyamin Netanyahu, Israeli deputy foreign minister, at which other members of the Israeli Foreign Ministry took part. The sides noted that since opening representation offices in each other's countries in March 1988, a high-level political dialogue has commenced. In addition, this period saw an expansion in trade and the development of techno-scientific and cultural cooperation. Both sides emphasized the importance of the increasing two-way tourism.

The Hungarian and Israeli negotiating partners felt it would be mutually advantageous in the furthering of ties for diplomatic relations, broken off in 1967, to be re-established.

From the Hungarian side, it was emphasized that bilateral relations could be promoted considerably if the current Israeli trade barriers were abolished, and by the shift in Israel's attitude towards solving the crisis in the region.

Mr Kovacs took part at a wreath-laying ceremony at Yad Vashem museum, which keeps alive the memory of the victims of Nazism.

Speaks on Relations

LD1704215689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2026 GMT 17 Apr 89

[From the "Newsworld" program]

[Text] [Presenter] At the beginning of "Newsworld," I said that Israeli Prime Minister Shamir is arriving in Budapest this evening unexpectedly—at least unexpectedly for those who were not in the know. During the sportscast, I went to look for the interview that we have already broadcast, which our staff member Gyoergy

Vamovik made on board the Tel Aviv-Budapest flight yesterday when he traveled together with Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, who had discussions in Israel over the weekend. So, let us hear the interview:

[Begin recording] [Kovacs] My partner was Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, but I was also received by Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, and I met other Foreign Ministry officials. The aim of the visit, of the series of discussions, was to review the development that has taken place in bilateral relations since the reciprocal opening of interest-representation offices in last March.

On both sides, we were of the opinion that the high-level political dialogue has started and that this is useful. Economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations have developed. Contacts between the two countries' populations have expanded significantly. Last year 30,000 Israeli citizens visited Hungary, and 10,000 Hungarian citizens visited Israel. A series of agreements have been reached between the two countries, for example, an agreement on aviation affairs, as a result of which a regular flight now operates between Tel Aviv and Budapest.

[Vamovik] When can we expect the resumption, or rather the full resumption, of diplomatic relations?

[Kovacs] Neither the Israeli negotiating partners nor I can give a date for the following reason: Contrary to the earlier promises, Israel has not lifted the trade policy curbs, such as the system of import license, which make it difficult for Hungarian goods to reach the market, and it has not lifted those customs disadvantages which weaken the competitiveness of Hungarian goods. It was also raised that Hungary has, in a certain sense, been disappointed vis-a-vis the promises that had earlier been made on the Israeli side with respect to capital investments in Hungary. We would like to settle these problems, or rather, we would like the Israeli leaders, in accordance with their promises, to remove these obstacles. Foreign Ministry officials, including Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, have now promised very decisive support for this.

We believe that the system of relations is a complex affair, from which one cannot single out just the political diplomatic relations. In other words, it is expedient to elaborate and sign a series of agreements in which, in addition to resettling diplomatic relations, there would be a place for a series of other issues, for example, agreements on scientific-technical cooperation, a cultural cooperation, investment protection, and excluding dual taxation, which would expressly improve the conditions of economic cooperation.

There is one more thing: Hungarian-Israeli relations cannot be rendered independent [függetleníteni] of the development of the Middle East situation. [end recording]

[Presenter] You have heard the interview with deputy foreign minister Laszlo Kovacs.

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir Arrives 17 Apr
*LD1704224289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2200 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] The Israeli Prime Minister has arrived in Budapest. Yitzhak Shamir is to stay in our country for a short visit.

Israeli Envoy Interviewed
*TA1804061689 Jerusalem Domestic Service
in Hebrew 0505 GMT 18 Apr 89*

[Telephone interview with Shlomo Marom, head of Israeli interests office in Budapest, by Shalom Qital—live]

[Text] [Marom] We now have Hungary on the line. Good morning, Shlomo Marom, the Israeli representative who heads the interests office and is perhaps soon to be an ambassador.

[Marom] Good morning, Mr Shalom Qital. It has been a long time since we spoke to each other.

[Qital] Yes, and I am glad to do so over the air. Have you met with the prime minister yet?

[Marom] Naturally. We met him at the airport last evening, and we drove together to the government guest house. The talks are due to start today.

[Qital] What can you tell us about the talks? What is their expected content?

[Marom] I do not know. Bilateral issues will probably be raised; other issues may be raised by the Hungarians. All this is still unclear at the moment.

[Qital] Why this secrecy? The prime minister and other ministers have already been to Hungary. Why did we learn about this particular trip as if it were a visit to a hostile country?

[Marom] You cannot say it is a hostile country.

[Qital] On the contrary, what I am saying is that the country is not hostile.

[Marom] There must have been a need for a meeting between the prime minister and the Hungarian party secretary general and prime minister. As I understand it, the visit was coordinated during the prime minister's visit to the United States, although it was deemed necessary to announce it only upon the prime minister's arrival.

[Qital] I would like to ask you two direct questions. The first one is: Will the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries be announced at the end of this visit?

[Marom] I do not know. The subject will most likely be raised, but I would not like to speculate on the results.

[Qital] My second question is: Can you tell us unequivocally that relations between Hungary and Israel are the topic of the visit and that this is not serving as a cover for anything else?

[Marom] As has happened before, other issues may be raised. We will hear today precisely what subjects the Hungarian side decides to raise. We may know more in the evening.

[Qital] Well, we will be pleased to talk with you again and perhaps with the prime minister, too. Good luck and happy holiday.

[Marom] Thank you, and the same to you.

Shamir Meets With Grosz
*LD1804123489 Budapest MTI in English
1118 GMT 18 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 18, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is having talks with HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz Tuesday morning. Istvan Komoroczki, spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, informed MTI-Econews.

Mr Shamir arrived in Hungary on a brief unscheduled visit Monday evening and is expected to leave Budapest Tuesday evening. Mr Shamir last paid an unofficial visit to Budapest mid-September last year.

Asked whether indeed Hungary took on a mediating role towards a settlement in the Middle East crisis, Mr Komoroczki replied in the affirmative. "Hungary has agreed to act as a mediator and will try to persuade all parties concerned in the Middle East crisis to sit down to the negotiating table," the spokesman informed MTI-Econews.

Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Laszlo Kovacs, who returned from an official visit to Israel on Sunday, informed Econews on his return that talks on the resumption of diplomatic ties between the two countries continued. The Hungarian side urges the expansion of bilateral trade contacts and the abolition of current discriminative trade barriers, Mr Kovacs said.

The Israeli side invariably stress they give preferences only to such countries with which they have full diplomatic ties.

Mr Kovacs said the possibility of a Hungarian-Israeli technical-scientific cooperation agreement also came up during his talks in Israel.

In 1988 Hungarian-Israeli trade turnover was USD 30 million, with Hungarian export sharing USD 20 million. Hungary is on the lookout chiefly for advanced forms of cooperation, Israeli capital investment in Hungary, production cooperation agreements and the establishment of joint ventures.

Concludes Talks

TA1804143889 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew
1300 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir has concluded his political discussions in Budapest. He is now visiting the local Jewish community.

Mr Shamir held a lengthy meeting this morning with Karoly Grosz, the general secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party; Prime Minister Nemeth; and Deputy Foreign Minister Kovacs. They discussed relations between Israel and the Eastern bloc countries and the role designated to the Eastern bloc in the Middle East peace process.

Mr Shamir described the details of his political initiative to his interlocutors. They also discussed bilateral economic issues.

Our political correspondent 'Oded Ben-'Ami reports that no announcement on the renewal of full diplomatic relations between Israel and Hungary is expected at this stage. The process taking place between the two countries, however, is expected to lead to such an announcement in the near future.

Shlomo Marom, the director of the Israeli interests office in Budapest, told our political correspondent that an Israeli promise to recruit American businessmen to invest money in Hungary, and to make efforts to convince the U.S. Administration to grant Hungary a favored status identical to the one bestowed on Poland were also raised in the course of Shamir's talks.

The prime minister will conclude his visit to Budapest and return to Israel tonight.

Romania Accused of Breaking Nationalities Pledge

LD1804083989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0600 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] The Romanian leadership has not kept to the promise it made at Arad, that a joint statement be worked out for the handling of the nationality question. This means that the Romanian side has reinterpreted the obligations undertaken by Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu at Arad, and it has cast doubt that an agreement was ever reached at all on the matter.

Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi spoke about all this is the periodical VILAG TUEKOR. Speaking about the situation of Hungarian schools in Romania, he states that they are Hungarian only on paper. He mentioned that the use of the Hungarian language in public life and in school celebrations is prohibited in Romania.

Minority Issue Discussed With CSSR Official

LD1704204689 Budapest MTI in English
1825 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 17 (MTI)—Istvan Huszar, president-general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and Rudolf Rohlicek, vice-president of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak National Front, held talks about the current tasks of the two organizations in Gyor on Monday. The discussion was attended by Daniel Futej, vice-president of the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front, and Vastimil Ehrnberger, ambassador of Czechoslovakia to Hungary.

Mr Huszar stated at the meeting that the minority issue was a major element of relations between the two organizations. He said it was in the interests of both sides that the national minorities preserve their identity and find their well-being where they live.

Lukacs To Head Central Control Committee

LD1704184689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Many of you have seen it on film, and for the last few days you have also been able to read in book form the compilation of interviews entitled: "The Party Has Expelled Us," in which Mihaly Bihari, Zoltan Biro, Zoltan Kiraly, and Laszlo Lengyel relate the circumstances of their expulsion 1 year ago. Today there is a new chapter in the story. The Central Control Committee [KEB] has declared invalid [hatalyon kivul helyezte] its decision of last year. Before Pal Toth's microphone is Janos Lukacs, the new head of the KEB as of today.

[Toth] I think that an explanation has to be given by Janos Lukacs, the new chairman of the KEB, who was elected today to the office.

[Lukacs] The essence of today's decision is that in accordance with its earlier decision, the decision of 1 year ago, the KEB today reexamined the affair of the 4 party members expelled last year, and the end result of the reexamination is that it has declared it invalid.

[Toth] So the essence of this, then, is that it was not their conduct in the course of the past 1 year that was examined, but the KEB reexamined its own decision.

[Lukacs] Yes, this is a very important point. In consideration of the changes that have taken place since then, the circumstances, the changes that have taken place in our political system, it has reexamined this decision. But I

would like to add that in that period the KEB imposed party penalties on two other party members, Istvan Stumpf and (Attila Webber), because of their incorrect political conduct, according to the terminology of the time. It has likewise declared invalid these party penalties.

[Toth] KEB's personnel composition has changed, since you have been able to such an extent to change a decision of 1 year ago.

[Lukacs] I think that since the decision was unanimous in its essence we have changed, and we have caused many things to change since then.

[Toth] You have made this decision in an extremely difficult position, because, in addition, you have not been a Central Committee secretary for very long either—perhaps for 2 years. Do I remember correctly?

[Lukacs] Yes.

[Toth] Do you think that for the KEB's new type of functioning, its structural rules should be changed accordingly?

[Lukacs] You are absolutely right. It causes not a little problem and difficulty in the KEB's work that the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party organizational system is in transition. It is less possible to rely on a very fixed and stable organizational system of rules. Only in the most extreme case is it necessary to take these measures. This most extreme case is when someone places himself organizationally in opposition to the party's basic political direction. He has no place in the party. Our decisions have to be preceded by a more grounded debate, and in this way the political decisions should be made, because one hopes and one considers that they will be more grounded. And if people, groups of people, or even individuals remain in a minority, it is not necessary to conclude that then they have no place in the party.

Grosz Answers Radio Interview Questions

AU1304133589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 7 Apr 89 p 5

["Karoly Grosz Asked About Possible Changes in the Party's Leading Bodies"]

[Text] Several hundred questions were addressed to Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] on the telephone and in letters on the radio on 2 April. Karoly Grosz will answer the most interesting questions that were not included in the program in today's and tomorrow's NEPSZABADSAG.

[Question] Splitting is unprincipled and weakens the political struggle. What is your opinion about this? Would it not be advisable to guarantee a freedom of

factions or to transform the MSZMP into several parties with different ways of reaching the identical goals? How do you see the "multiparty system" within the MSZMP?

[Grosz] Hungary's progress, stabilization and development, and the consistent implementation of reforms are in the interest of not only the MSZMP but also of our entire society. There can, and even should, be different views on renewal and on our political, economic, and social tasks because only a confrontation of opinions and debates can lead to development. An important lesson of past decades is that we should also listen to different opinions because only this can lead to a new qualitative unity in the party, and, in the final analysis, also in the life of society. Instead of a freedom of factions, I would rather use the term freedom of platforms, and this is probably what the questioner meant. Debates on this issue are currently under way in the party. In my view, the main thing about the various platforms is whether they adequately serve the essential national consensus and whether they contribute to the implementation of reforms and the progress of our society. I stress that I believe it is desirable to have unity that has emerged from a synthesis of different opinions, a national consensus. As for breaking up the MSZMP, I also disapprove of this on principle.

[Question] How can a simple party member understand the party's guideline if the Central Committee also disagrees on this?

[Grosz] My previous words about the difference of opinions have provided a partial answer to this question. The MSZMP Central Committee is a guiding body of political life, including the party policy, a body that makes important decisions. Its proper functioning is inconceivable today without a working style that analyzes and debates all the aspects of various chances and opportunities. However, it is true that we should definitely increase the level of publicity and information on issues that affect the party members. Therefore, at its latest session, the Central Committee dealt with the renewal of the party's information and press policy.

[Question] The people have grown up, but some of the leaders prefer to address various Western press organs and not our domestic press. The population often learns about the direction of our country from these press organs. Is this the correct way?

[Grosz] Obviously, it is a new phenomenon, and subsequently perhaps a little unusual, for Hungarian political leaders and public officials also to express their opinions about Hungary's situation, aims, and reforms openly abroad. In my view, this is a sign of confidence on our part, and also a basis for deeper cooperation. I think that today the party officials, the party and state leaders, and responsible experts are also expressing their opinions in many forums at home. In my view, we should increase and improve the quantity and quality of declarations made at home, rather than reduce the observations made

abroad. At the same time, in my view, only declarations that any politician is able to accept with a clean conscience both at home and abroad have any credibility.

[Question] Can we expect any changes in the leading bodies of the party prior to the upcoming elections?

[Grosz] Obviously, there are also personnel components to the process of renewal that has begun in our party. However, I would like to point out that we are talking about a process here, a process that began with the party conference in May 1988, and the elections do not represent the final point of this process. It is only natural that new tasks require new people, if—and we do not hide this at all—the MSZMP wants to win the elections.

[Question] Is the MSZMP not ashamed that history will remember socialism as the 4 decades of oppression, terror, exploitation, and of the pauperization and ruin-ation of the Hungarian people?

[Grosz] The MSZMP has nothing to be ashamed of, either for the past 4 decades or for its earlier struggle for the prosperity and socialist transformation of Hungary and for the improvement of the fate of the Hungarian nation. The MSZMP rejects the attempts at making it a scapegoat for every difficulty and problem, while at the same time, the MSZMP takes it upon itself to self-critically break with its mistakes and wrong concepts. The MSZMP considers as lies the efforts to deny the revolutionary results achieved in the course of socialist construction. We are certain that history will honestly judge our efforts.

[Question] People abroad are greater fans of the Hungarian reform process than people at home. Foreign countries write more about our results, while the domestic press writes more about our mistakes. Why are our results not "managed" better?

[Grosz] It offends me too that the domestic press and Hungarian political opinion seem to have forgotten about our results. It seems that many people would like to deny our entire socialist past, including their own personal past. I do not, nor can I, agree with such a concept. Our party is striving to make sure that the positive sides of socialist construction and of the renewal process are also adequately publicized and become objects of national pride. Indeed, we have traditionally mismanaged our results, but we have to learn this just like the management of our industry, trade, and economy. I hope we will learn this, and I also hope that we will have a lot of successes to manage.

Grosz Speaks on Recent Visits, Party Split
LD1804090589 Budapest MTI in English
0801 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 18 (MTI)—The Tuesday issue of the daily "NEPSZABADSAG" carries an interview with HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz, who, just back from Sofia, presents a survey of his series of visits to European socialist countries.

"The visits were aimed to inform our partners about the events following the party conference in May 1988, and exchange our views in order to find ways for further cooperation... The outcome of this series as a whole is very favourable. I have felt an explicit readiness for cooperation. If there are problems they largely stem from objective causes, such as identical structure of products or production structures, and not from subjective intentions."

On the image of Hungary within the socialist world, Mr Grosz felt a keen interest in the Hungarian experience.

"There are quite a lot of places where our entrepreneurial spirit is genuinely appreciated. At the same time, I could feel an increase of anxiety even in the countries that have exhibited friendly feelings towards our endeavours... More and more people feel that we cannot keep processes under control, and there are more undesirable side effects to the transformation process than what seems to be justified. Although not undergrounded, these fears are a bit exaggerated."

"I understand that the East and the West are equally afraid that political processes in Hungary will get out of hand and lead not to the renewal but to the prolonged destabilization of the system..."

Answering questions about the public opinion abroad of the massive indebtedness of Hungary, Mr Grosz pointed out: "International public opinion doesn't see the indebtedness of our country to be such a tragic and insolvable problem. What they object to is that processes don't carry sufficient signs of progress. They do not see any indication that we will be able to reverse the process soon... I think the time has come for taking extraordinary measures in the sphere of economy to accelerate changes."

Answering a question on the danger of a split within the party, Mr Grosz says:

"In a period of transformation, the danger of a party split is always there. If there is a way, the party should avoid this as something that would inevitably reduce its influence and support. At the same time, an insistence on unity at all costs could lead to tragic consequences in the long run. As a matter of fact, this would be even worse than a split. Regarding the HSWP, I should think the most dangerous development would be the emergence and operation of factions within the party, since this would act as a brake upon the movement, diminishing its influence."

Debates at Kecskeket Reform Workshop Reported
LD1504221189 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT
15 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—Csaba Tabajdi, a foreign politics expert, spoke about the future of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], saying that

a left wing party could get out of a crisis only by taking radical action, using power as a means and not an end. At the same time, he warned against the reform wing's withdrawal from the party, thereby giving an opportunity for conservatives, still in the majority, to push the party further left.

"But if the reform advocates do not accept a split in the party, the HSWP will break up and lose its most active members," Politologist Csaba Gombár said in counter-argument. He feels the party has missed the opportunity that would have come from a united platform.

Economist Lajos Bokros said there was a lack of general economic political conception. He asked for a drastic transformation of economic policy, and proposed that the HSWP group of the National Assembly should initiate the transformation of the government, and the new government should assume office only after its programme has been approved. Two non-party contributors who were previously expelled by the party also took the floor.

In the opinion of economist Laszlo Lengyel, the formation of a reform party is even more imminent this year than it was a year ago. No party which bases its programmes on old formulas can hope to achieve success at next year's elections, he emphasized. The reform wing of the HSWP should distance itself from the past period, but also from events that took place after 1985. At the same time, it should clearly define its relation to the other parties and movements.

Politologist Mihaly Bihari stated that a political and government reform centre should be set up in the country. This political centre would rally the followers of democratic socialism, based on the principle of national political union. In relation to reforming the government's work, he considered it indispensable for the government to discuss its programme not only with the HSWP but also on a coalition basis, in cooperation with other parties and movements as well.

Sociologist Istvan Stumpf feels the conference went beyond the boundaries of a reform workshop and gave rise to expectations not merely to party people, but also in the younger generation which has been partly alienated. He agrees that an extraordinary party congress would be necessary to decide if the HSWP has embraced the principles of reform.

The other speakers all touched upon the future of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its chances at the coming representative council elections. They criticized the inconsistent and hasty governmental measures, and also the policy of the party. They claimed that an extraordinary party congress seems to be inevitable.

Many hold that the formation of reform circles is, to a certain degree, contrary to the organizational rules of the party. Therefore, the rules should be changed to make for

a genuine freedom of ideas. In other words, a freedom of platform which allows horizontal associations and gives an opportunity for the minority to win support by publicizing their views.

Pozsgay, Nyers Speak

LD1504121689 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Andras Kerekes report on the Kecskeket reform workshop consultations]

[Text] The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] needs every ideological support in order for it to find the path leading out of the crisis and to lead as many people as possible on this path, said Imre Pozsgay, emphasizing that this consultation was called first and foremost by the requirement for such a workshop. The fact that General Secretary Karoly Grosz or Premier Miklos Nemeth are not present does not detract from the value of the consultation. Similarly, the fact that Janos Berecz and Judit Czehak, who have just come off the Politburo, or Gyorgy Aczel, are following the consultations at the scene with great interest, means nothing other than something of political interest.

Imre Pozsgay emphasized: There is a need for a basic model change. Without that, there is no chance. However, it is necessary to think through the consequences of the necessary political reform. Political insight is already functioning in the party; With pluralism, the path in front of certain alternatives has been closed off for good. However, many manifestations of monolithic power can often still be discovered.

Openness constitutes an unbearable strain for many, Imre Pozsgay said. It is an enormous burden from the viewpoint of the MSZMP that it must bear the responsibility of 40 years, the loss of trust. For this reason, there is a need for deep-reaching self-examination, for making pauses. It is necessary to ostracize the forms of conduct, the crisis-producing ideological taboos which have led to this. Otherwise, there is no chance that the MSZMP will take part competitively in the political struggle. It is necessary to think in terms of a national program and responsibility. A rapid change is necessary, because society, which has become infant-like, and has grown up on taboos, casts responsibility for everything on the same power from which it, otherwise, accepted ministrations—quote, unquote—for a long time.

The other viewpoint, to which attention must be paid, is whether it is necessary to remain in a party that is carrying such burdens, or whether, on the contrary, it is necessary to part company with it. This is how the phantom image of a party split appeared.

In a culture of a European level, a party split is not necessarily diabolically bad. Imre Pozsgay, however, would not consider this right now, not because of reasons of principle, but because of the country's situation.

However, the danger of disintegration threatens. Thus, the question arises: How can the party be held together? According to Imre Pozsgay, this can be done only if everything is rethought within the party, moreover, in the spirit of sober cooperation. It is necessary to continue negotiations with the other political forces, accepting that it is of benefit to the entire nation if everything can come to the surface.

Analyzing the forms of conduct, Imre Pozsgay condemned the reflexes of fearing for power, which are especially manifested in the matter of openness. He pointed out that political reform cannot be a substitute for economic reforms. Stalinist-model politics absorbs everything into itself; for this reason, it is a primary issue that the economy should be freed from means outside the economy.

Rezso Nyers, submitting another report, understandably dealt primarily with the economy, and he stated: We are in a critical situation. Either essential steps will be taken or the Hungarian economy will be a vegetating economy, and the government will be compelled to conduct a constant struggle for survival. The basic ideas of the new economic policy, in the words of Rezso Nyers, are: a full market economy, economic democracy, an active role for the proprietary functions; the creation of a broad functional scope for private enterprise, for the effective use of capital; freer prices and wages.

Rezso Nyers said that it is important for the center of gravity—in a choice between the objective of breaking free, and the condition of financial stability—must be placed on breaking free. Of course, it is also necessary to pay attention to the balance requirements. An economy that can export is necessary, because our external economic relations are underdeveloped. It is only possible to get out of this by developing exports. We have to endeavor to do this so that the country remains not only solvent, but creditworthy.

Rezso Nyers said in conclusion that the nation can be led forward only by a multiparty system which accommodates the reform policy. However, in the contest, it is necessary to move away from the situation of confrontation to a situation of rational political compromises.

Rezso Nyers also opposed a party split, because at present, it would at best hold back the reforms which are unfolding. Instead, it is necessary to increase the reform capacity of the MSZMP and of all society, Rezso Nyers said at the end of his speech.

Pozsgay, Nyers on Situation

*LD1504185089 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Politburo, by "responsible editor" Akos Mester on 15 April during recess at reform consultations in Kecskemet—recorded; from the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] A 1-hour reform consultation is taking place today in Kecskemet, in which leading politicians of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], social scientists, and economic experts have been taking part. Rezso

Nyers made a speech to open the debate on economic reform; Imre Pozsgay spoke about the transformation of political institutions. Invitations to this consultation were sent to Politburo members, Central Committee secretaries, county first secretaries, other political leaders, and representatives of the press. We are represented at the scene by responsible editor Akos Mester, who during a break in consultations invited Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay to the microphone.

[Mester] There is now an ideological crisis in Hungary, there is a political crisis, and there is an economic crisis. Amid such conditions, what kind of support can such a consultation give?

[Pozsgay] In any event, it can provide a possibility to shed light on the causes of the crisis and to handle the crisis. This is not the only such forum; it is a way of gaining information and exchanging views. An open and polemic exchange of views might accustom us to the thought that we should handle the crisis not with forebodings of anxiety and catastrophe, but as a source of information, out of which a good sort of message could also emerge. If we come to this conclusion and we can also shed light on the reasons why things cannot go on in the old way, then action may follow this, and not collapse and fear.

[Nyers] This by all means is an information forum which informs the participants, since there is information coming from all directions. It is not yet evident what this will bring in terms of arousing thoughts, but I believe that such forums also have a role in ripening thoughts.

[Mester] There are quite a few factors of uncertainty; last week there was various speculation regarding the Kecskemet meeting. It was said that the reform platform was expected to take shape here, and that this could even be the preparation for a party split. Imre Pozsgay immediately denied this in his introduction. He said that a person's presence here, or being away, in itself, does not qualify anyone.

[Pozsgay] Yes, that is what I thought, exactly because of this idle talk. This idle talk was not stirred up by the organizers of the conference, and that cannot even be said that it came about because of some kind of maliciousness. It came about simply because the country's atmosphere, and public opinion, is full of expectation, and since it is increasingly urgent to find a way out, certain expectations and certain ideas—often illusions—are attached to every important political event, even before it might take place.

[Mester] I should like to remind Rezso Nyers that not long ago we spoke in the parliament building. I asked whether a split might be expected within the party, along the lines of the various concepts. And as far as I remember, you replied: Yes, this can be expected. Aren't we approaching this time?

[Nyers] As far as I remember, I did not say that a split was expected, but that a falling away from the party ranks was expected. This falling away is already taking place. The MSZMP is now characterized by an open appearance of currents, and by the currents' thoughts and political endeavours coming face to face.

[Mester] Can the party still be held together, seeing that so many concepts are straining at one another? My other question is whether it is worthwhile keeping it together.

[Pozsgay] I am not a believer in an abstract unity which is revered like an altarpiece. Indeed, there is a form of unity which is not decent, because it shuts together people with intentions, endeavors, and thoughts that are diametrically opposed, in one sole organizational framework. There is an excuse for this in the conditions of a one-party system, and for this reason, someone, indeed several people, have mentioned the MSZMP as a coalition. Thus, I did not speak about this in terms of an abstract image of unity and in terms of respecting of unity, of remaining together, as a special value, but in accordance with a very commonplace principle of serviceability. I believe that there is a possibility that those who leave the MSZMP will not be the ones who want a reform. But on the basis of choosing a program, people should be able to decide individually, on the basis of personal strategy, whether they will remain in a renewed, progressive MSZMP which has placed the reform in the focal point, or whether they will join other political formations.

Thus, the reform must embrace all of the MSZMP. It can embrace all of it if, amid the emerging conditions of various political associations, of pluralism, those who do not agree with this can decide and they can decide freely.

[Mester] It was mentioned here that the MSZMP bears the responsibility for the governing of the past 4 decades. I think that this is the most natural thing in the world; ultimately the MSZMP cannot shift this responsibility onto anyone else in the world. Rather the question now is why the MSZMP lost the public confidence which it mistakenly thought would last forever. I think this should have been clarified some time ago.

[Nyers] Yes, it is true this is happening late. The clarification of this should be the latest have happened at the beginning of the eighties, so we are indeed almost a decade late with it. It is this delay which is now the reason why, in my opinion, it is currently not the real interest differences within the party which are great, which would pry apart the party, but it is the differences of opinion, uncertainties and emotional adjustments connected with the unclarified system of interests of the past. This is causing the main problem. Thus, this to a certain extent is a psychological factor in the party. In my opinion it is possible alongside the existence of (various) trends to create some kind of consensus on the main questions. Thus, in my opinion, the MSZMP can stay together.

[Mester] Yes, but I wonder: Can this consensus come about without the necessary calling to account? It is well known what Imre Pozsgay usually says in connection with this, that it is not the hour of calling to account which has come—we can only count on squaring accounts. And I think that many people share and accept this view of his. At the same time, it is more and more coming to light, being made public, that in the period classified under the name of Janos Kadar, there were not only mistakes and omissions, but also crimes. And, in connection with this, there are party members in whom a kind of feeling of guilt is awakening, and in others, a feeling of guilt as such is completely alien. This, too, can divide the party.

[Pozsgay] Yes, there is the chance of division, too. But something else must be said here, precisely in connection with crimes and mistakes. If these mistakes were of a political nature, then the consequence must be of a political nature too, for if it is not, then the present leadership would fall into the same crime as that for which earlier leaders have to perhaps be condemned. The other thing is, if crimes are in question, then we must speak only in concrete terms and on the basis of tangible proofs. Certainly such things did happen. The government has created a suitable apparatus and investigating committee for this, whose task will be to uncover this too. But, precisely in the spirit of democracy and in the spirit of the possibility of a government being relieved, in the spirit of even a party being relieved by the people, I must say that henceforth, political responsibility must be asserted in politics, for otherwise, the possibility of political clarification is replaced by the wish for revenge and persecution.

One other thing: I agree completely with what Rezso Nyers said in relation to the past; I add that there will be one more divisive factor, also from the past, the acceptance or not of the method of exercising power, the division of power. But I agree with him. It is totally connected with how a person evaluates the past, and how they view the methods of the time. They will evaluate that according to the matter of the prospective division of power.

[Mester] Of course, alarm bells can be rung against the wish for revenge and persecution. This can, however, develop a kind of fear in those who represent power—I am thinking mainly of those who have participated in and exercised power continually. You yourself mentioned, in your speech here, that there is nothing worse than when power creates fear, for when power becomes unpredictable.

[Pozsgay] Yes, this is so. Because of this, I feel that only a positive planning program and political planning can help us through this trouble and misery, because that at once creates the possibility of participation. Here, please look at the appearance of the reform circles. This came about as a movement within the party and in the area of the party, precisely through the demand, the need, that

the party membership which has been forced into a simplified role wants to appear in an active role; and in that moment, its conscience develops differently too.

[Mester] Yes, except there is a view that the party leadership is pinning hopes on these reform circles. According to other opinions, however, it fears the reform circles will become more organized; for in this form a very strong opposition, standing on socialist foundations, could easily develop within the party. And I think there is some reality in this view.

[Nyers] I consider it natural that these kinds of horizontal structures develop in the party, for the party structure has become rigid, archaic. This must be superseded, so I consider this positive.

At the same time, I think that these horizontal structures must also fit into a new party structure, which is now being formed and which will develop in the future. So, I cannot imagine that there would be another party within the party. I can imagine—what is more I also consider it natural—that there be an opposition within the party. If possible, this should not be demonstrative opposition, but an opposition which specifically stands opposite and argues the political questions on the agenda. I would in no way consider it positive if the reform circles were to become the opposition. The reform policy must penetrate into the center of the party—It is now in the process of penetrating—and strengthen that area.

[Mester] One of the main aims here is the simultaneous realization of the political and economic reform. The matter is far too simple, for one is incapable of unfolding without the other. At the same time, there is a suspicion that the political reform is sacrificing itself, because in this way it covers up the unsolved economic woes.

[Pozsgay] Let me say in connection with this that I posed the question thus in my speech. I must go beyond what I said there about this as a thesis. I also add to it that in a certain situation, the increasing of political freedom in itself is a value which people would gladly welcome. What is more, they are prepared to postpone for this the satisfaction of their needs to the present hour. If they were not prepared for this, then there would be no point in asking here and now for sacrifices—to put it thus—at the altar of the economic consolidation or reform.

We must talk about this in a much more nuanced way than the way in which I raised this, in one single aspect. All the same, I do avow that an unfolding of the economic reform and the performance capacity will not be long in occurring. This leadership does not have a great chance, or too many chances, to commit more mistakes—we (?said) this in the debate too—for the situation is pressing.

[Nyers] In essence I agree with this. I would add that in my opinion, both hitherto and at present, public interest has been turning toward political issues, and this is not a

negative factor for the economy. At present there is a great lack of interest clarity, or interest clarification. If this lack of interest clarity had manifested itself in politics and in politicizing to a greater extent than today, then the danger of anarchy would have been greater. Later on, however, it is a big problem—with regard to the next stage—that the shaping of alternatives, relating to economic interests, is proceeding more slowly at present than the situation demands.

[Mester] In your opinion, is this not connected precisely with the lack of confidence about which we have just been speaking? You said, for example, that a much larger scope must be given to private undertakings. Yes, but someone who wants to begin a private undertaking will once again be wary; he will once again want to be given guarantees that it will be worthwhile starting the undertaking. It is not enough to say to him, looking back, that well, yes, nationalization at the time was without doubt excessive and unjustified.

[Nyers] Yes, here there is a need for political initiative and political security. This has to be given by the power, by the administration. And behind the government, by way of cover, there has to be the determined political stand of the MSZMP, since here it is a question of the MSZMP government. It has to be there.

[Pozsgay] Let me just mention here, agreeing with what has been said, that this will then mean that there will be confidence when this reform stands at the center. As one of the speakers said, as long as the reform wing is forced to make unclear compromises in order to satisfy the needs of the conservative side, then from this point of view confidence will not exist on the part of the entrepreneurs.

[Nyers] Yes. But let us interpret this a bit now. I agree with it in this form: that not only must the reform be in the center, not only the reformers...

[Pozsgay] Obviously...

[Nyers] ...but a combination of reformers and realistic politicians, when policy becomes reform policy.

[Pozsgay] Put this way, I agree.

[Mester] Yes, but you slipped in a phrase... and I am still thinking about that: You said that this is the government of the MSZMP. Naturally, that is so. But if this is the government of the MSZMP, then how much does the MSZMP accept the blame for the haste and the confusion with which the government is now being reproached?

[Nyers] The MSZMP can accept this much—and it has to accept it: that it is a question of its government. It cannot accept it in its full entirety because the government policy and the party policy are at a stage of becoming independent on the concrete issues. Therefore,

the present haste and confusion, the government confusion, cannot be blamed on the MSZMP. It is we who work in the government who are responsible for this. Perhaps we can even attribute some of it to the earlier administration as well, but not much.

[Mester] Well, I don't know. But the reason I am a little bit embarrassed is because, if I like, I can say that sitting here before me are two members of the MSZMP Politburo, and, if I like, I can say that sitting here before me are two ministers of state. In this way it is quite difficult to shove the responsibility to and fro, between the government and the party, do you not think?

[Pozsgay] In the last resort, this responsibility will have to be validated by a democratically elected, authentic parliament. This will be the real solution to this dilemma. And then this will be decided not by party situation, but by parliament.

[Mester] When?

[Pozsgay] After the elections.

[Nyers] In my opinion, even today it is not the party leadership to whom we are answerable...

[Pozsgay] Directly, not even today.

[Nyers] ...(?not) directly [word indistinct], but to parliament. For the general direction we are answerable to the party, and for our direct action to the parliament, even today already; despite our parliamentary conditions being what they are, given so, this is this situation.

[Mester] It was also raised here that the party must definitely clarify more and more concretely its relationship to the newly organizing political forces. Again I have the feeling that the party has ended up at a disadvantage; again I have the feeling that the party is offering compromises with which it is too late. I cannot imagine that the proposal to form a coalition would be really valid, because the party is not one party among many—I am speaking of the present MSZMP—but it is the power itself. So how can one strive for some kind of coalition agreement here?

[Pozsgay] I do not deny that it may be late. This delay, however, in my opinion, does not particularly hurt the MSZMP's prospective partners or opponents. It strengthens precisely their positions. In my opinion this is not the trouble here, although this is obviously also a part. But the trouble is that they have not yet collected themselves either. Therefore, they are preoccupied with determining themselves, with seeking their bases, and while reproachful and resentful statements are being voiced by them against the MSZMP, it is also a part of the whole process of seeking bases. There is at least as much uncertainty in them as in the MSZMP, in my opinion.

[Mester] Allow me one more question. In your view, when should a party congress convene which would then clarify once and for all every topic which came up here at this consultation in Kecskemet?

[Nyers] In my opinion, this depends on how far the party, the party leadership, can unfold and make effective its present policy. Insofar as it will not be able to do this, then a party congress will have to be brought forward. But for the time being, we must still strive in order to create this amid present-day conditions, before the congress.

[Pozsgay] I too consider the party congress a more essential issue than the problem of a party split. Because if the MSZMP is unable to implement the reform direction which it is undertaking at present and which seems, after all, to be becoming stronger, then either it will be able to give strength to the reform at a new party congress or the MSZMP will disintegrate. So, it could happen that the congress will have to be convened.

Pozsgay, Nyers Brief Press

*LD1504223389 Budapest MTI in English
2051 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—At the same time as the reform workshop, the reform circles of the HSWP, [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] formed on the basis of the freedom of platform, held their first meeting in Kecskemet.

Their statement was read out at the discussion of reform workshop as well.

It includes a call for the convention of an extraordinary party congress. They refuse the generalizing label of factionalism and call on the HSWP membership and organizations to form reform circles and other similar groups. After the discussion, Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay held a press briefing, attended by Hungarian and foreign journalists.

Mr Pozsgay said the events in Kecskemet could not be considered factionalism. In one of his statements, Karoly Grosz had also called initiative useful.

On whether the party needed a new leadership in order to increase its chances at the coming elections, Mr Pozsgay pointed out that the body has not taken part in such a political contest yet, but he is convinced it is ready for action and is spiritually open for such an enterprise.

Several questions were asked about how traditional party discipline affects the attitude of leading reform politicians. According to Rezso Nyers, traditional party discipline no longer exists within the HSWP. This dilemma no longer exists in the communist party, which is shifting towards social democracy.

At a previous session of the Central Committee, the standpoint emerged that the body will not initiate the convening of an extraordinary party congress, Mr Nyers said in answer to another question. Commenting on this, Imre Pozsgay said that a decision on this should also be taken by the party membership. Following the press briefing, Mr Pozsgay met with representatives of the reform circles and replied to questions relating to the future of these organizations.

Trade Union Council Calls for 'Discussions'

*LD1704193489 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] The National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] Presidium calls on the government to make no further decisions that will adversely affect the living standard before discussions, and to postpone the price increases scheduled to take effect 2 May. The SZOT resolutely demands that as of 1 May pensions be raised by a uniform 100 forints. Miklos Attila Nemeth reports on today's SZOT Presidium session:

[Nemeth] It is 3 months since the SZOT invited the government to a discussion. This has not come about, but it is not the fault of the trade unions. This was established by the presidium at its extraordinary session, which had been convened because, although the trade unions have continually been voicing their critical opinions, the Council of Ministers did not take them into consideration in the course of its decision making.

Their measures have been and are continuing to further damage the mood and the living standard of the trade union membership and of society as a whole. Certain strata are threatened with the danger of mass impoverishment.

According to the presidium's standpoint, in the future they will only sit down for talks with the government under certain conditions. First of all, only after the government has been renewed, that is in the second half of May, can there be any coordination of interests. Every former agreement will have to be reexamined.

On behalf of the Presidium, Laszlo Sandor, SZOT secretary, said that until the discussions, all price rises must be suspended. The country's population must be given detailed information about our country's debt stock, about the repayment schedule, and about the budget situation, stressed the SZOT secretary. Until this happens, the outcome of all discussion is doubtful. The country's population must be told what commitments, and on whose authorization, the government has undertaken vis-a-vis the international world of finance.

Only on these foundations can a new social consensus come into being. And if the discussions, on the other hand, do not produce results, then the trade unions will

have to make use of other tools of interest coordination. Accordingly, the 1 May ceremony will be a mass demonstration of employee interest.

At the briefing after the Presidium session, it was stated that the trade union also henceforth does not wish to be a shadow government, and neither is it in the interest of the movement to come forward with unfounded demands. It disassociates itself from these. However, the trade unions will start a wideranging consultation with their members to determine what standpoint they should represent in the interest of employees. After this, SZOT will determine and shape the trade unions' current economic political concepts by June, according to the expectations.

Sandor Briefs Press

*LD1704231689 Budapest MTI in English
2224 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 17 (MTI)—Analysing the trade unions tasks stemming from the recent government measures, the board of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) stated at its extraordinary session on Monday that the earlier agreements concluded with the government have to be revised, SZOT secretary Laszlo Sandor announced at a press conference.

However, he said, the SZOT leaders see a possibility for reaching substantive agreements only with a government of considerably renewed composition. Another condition is that by the time of the talks the government should suspend the planned price measures of May 2, which were announced previously, and all other moves affecting the standard of living.

A major prerequisite of the talks for the government is to report to the public on the size, structure and current state of the national debt. The government is also expected to report what agreements it has concluded with international financial organizations and on whose authority. Before the start of negotiations the government should outline its short-term programme for handling the crisis and the concrete measures along this line.

The government should take a stand on issues of social-welfare policy, the wage and budget reform and put forth its concepts relating to the transformation of the tax system.

It will depend on the government's reply whether the trade unions will be ready to sit to the conference table or chose some other means of interest representation. They will decide on the matter after consulting the membership. There is the possibility of a nationwide warning strike but besides the talks and the strike the trade unions have a multitude of other opportunities on hand. In this context, Mr Sandor referred to the May 1 celebration which, in the view of the board, should be a mass demonstration of employee's interests.

Finally, the SZOT secretary stated that the next meeting between leading officials of the government and SZOT may take place as early as the second half of May. He also said that the trade unions were to elaborate their economic policy concept by June. In the public debate over the concept they would like to prove that there is not only a single alternative in overcoming problems.

Democratic Forum Leader on Power Sharing

LD1404204989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] today introduced itself to independent parliamentary deputies. Gabriella Szilagyi's reports with recorded highlights.

[Szilagyi] After introducing the forum's activity up till now, its attained results, and its foreign political approach, Zoltan Biro, acting chairman of the HDF, spoke about the current situation.

[Begin Biro recording] Hungarian society is deteriorating daily, partly because of the fact that no institution of power that in the eyes of the people would be unequivocally its own institution exists in the country; we include in this the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] as ruling party; the administration, and, unfortunately, parliament as well. In a particularly critical situation, in such a difficult situation as the country is in, it is very dangerous that there is no institution in the entire power structure that could be a force for creating institutional consensus, one that a society could hold on to.

A coalition government should be set up in such a situation generally that could act as a bridge. Yes, but there is no possibility for a coalition government in the country today. We see no possibility for this, because the MSZMP itself is not suited in its present form to conclude a coalition. The so-called alternatives, the independent organizations, the parties now being formed, are not for the time being suited to be coalition partners, first of all because in the event of a quickly formed government coalition, there would be no parliamentary background behind anyone; this coalition would not have the very important and, in this situation,

indispensable legitimacy in the eyes of the people. In today's independent organizations and parties, the political strength does not exist to make stepping into a coalition possible nor worthwhile. This coalition would only be a pseudo-coalition [alkoalicio].

If our institutions, and with them our strength, crumble apart in this way, then the situation could easily arise in which the country would have to be steered through for a short period with some kind of crisis government, or crisis staff—I do not know how to put it—because there would be no other solution. [end recording]

[Szilagyi] After this, he argued that the present parliament should enact a bill on electoral rights and announce elections for an interim constitutionalizing national assembly. [passage omitted]

[Begin Biro recording] We consider it very essential and a precondition that jurisprudence should be really independent and that the parties should leave—in this case that the MSZMP should leave—the army, the police, in other words, the armed corps. Without this, the whole process can indeed be questioned. The MSZMP evidently wants to keep power positions, at least, key positions. Now, the gradations in power-sharing, obviously, are the following: either the MSZMP must in some way bring about its limited power in the first stage; or completely free power sharing, on the basis of the people's choice. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Catholic Bishops Take Oath to Constitution

AU1004114789 Budapest MTI in English
1640 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 06/04/1989—On Thursday [6 April], the Roman Catholic coadjutors recently appointed by Pope John Paul II took an oath on the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic in the parliament building before Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, in the attendance of Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom.

The Presidential Council has given its preliminary consent to the appointment of coadjutors Drs Vilmos Dekany and Asztrik Varszegi of Esztergom, Istvan Acs of Eger, Mihaly Mayer of Pecs and Dr Nandor Takacs of Szekesfehervar.

Jaruzelski, Walesa Plan To Meet 18 Apr
*AU1804134789 Paris AFP in English 1322 GMT
18 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 18 (AFP)—Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa are to meet here Tuesday after the first working session of the committee to oversee "round table" accords, officials confirmed.

It will be the first time the two men have met face-to-face since November 4, 1981, when they held talks in the presence of Roman Catholic primate Jozef Glemp only weeks before martial law was imposed in Poland.

Tuesday's meeting comes one day after the re-legalisation of Solidarity. The union was banned under martial law and remained outlawed after martial law was lifted in July 1983.

The meeting will mark the official resumption of negotiations between government and opposition following eight weeks of "round table" talks which ended on April 5.

Gen. Jaruzelski is expected to be accompanied at the meeting by a delegation including Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski while Mr. Walesa is to head a group of about a dozen Solidarity officials.

Officials on Court Registration of Solidarity
*LD1704171789 Warsaw PAP in English 1531 GMT
17 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—The voivodship court in Warsaw today decided to include the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity into the register of trade unions as a nationwide organization with headquarters in Gdansk. In issuing this decision, the court took account of the trade union law of October 8, 1982 and amended by the Sejm on this April 7, according to which employees have the right to create and associate in trade unions at factory, nationwide and other levels as they wish, said chairwoman of the jury Danuta Widawska.

The amended Article 11, Paragraph 3 of the Trade Union Law says that a trade union groups employees of one or many work establishments, kinds of employment, branches or occupations. The statute of the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity shows that the territorial-subjective scope of this union's activity conforms to the provisions of this law. In view of this the court ruled as in the above sentence, she said.

As it was stressed in the substantiation of the ruling, the amended trade union law provides a legal basis to open up a new stage of trade union pluralism in Poland. Polish society pins high hopes on honest activities of all trade unions as regards the rights and interests of working people and realization of their material and cultural needs.

Bronislaw Geremek, asked about the union's programme, told newsmen after the registration: "I think that Solidarity will serve Poland as it used to serve, that it will continue that from which it grew, that is, the clear, pellucid current of August 1980. Now I am thinking of those millions of people who remained faithful to Solidarity. This is a capital that can now be used for the benefit of Poland. I would also like to perceive today's act as the authorities' will to wisely and boldly meet social aspirations halfway."

Walesa Interviewed on Future of Solidarity
*LD1704190289 Warsaw Television Service in Poland
1730 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity Trade Union, by an unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What thoughts would you like to share with television viewers on this day, sir?

[Walesa] Well, of course, I am very pleased that Poland, for the second time, is entering the road of pluralism and democracy. And as we have said many times, pluralism and democracy are civilizational achievements of Europe and the world, and he who practices them gets results. Therefore, if we follow these solutions which have been tested by others, then we can hope to pull Poland up very quickly to the level of these others at the lead. I deeply believe this, as these are, I repeat, models already tested in the world.

[Correspondent] Solidarity has officially arisen for the second time. In what way is it different than from the beginning of the 1980s?

[Walesa] Of course, Solidarity will be what its members make it. Even I, the chairman, do not know to the end what it will be like. Certainly, that 10-year lesson will be a lesson which we will all remember. We have all learned a lot, and these experiences must serve and will serve Poland. I know that we are beginning a little differently. I remember 1980 well—there was much emotion. This emotion...[changes thought] and as I foresee it—and I have managed to foresee many things—I foresee that these emotions will grow during the course of our work, that this is perhaps even more interesting and better for the reforms, because such experienced people will be following only tested solutions or creating the chances for a favorable ending or solution. Looking at it this way, we have all the particulars and all the chances of making this Poland the Poland of our dreams, because in all this—really, no one can say today that it is not so—everyone can participate in it, everyone can organize themselves and create this Poland to the extent of our wisdom and our capabilities.

Walesa Statement Read at News Conference
*LD1704222889 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT
17 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—At a news conference for Polish and foreign newsmen here today Janusz Onyszkiewicz read out a special statement by Lech Walesa who expressed satisfaction over the registration of Solidarity earlier today and thanked all those who supported the struggle for the union's legalization.

"Solidarity preserved its identity and its statute. Only those points which speak about strikes, in view of their discordance with the binding law on trade unions, are suspended for the coming national congress of delegates to decide," the statement read.

"The day of our success came at a particularly difficult time. The Polish nation faces much more complex tasks than those in 1980. We must now attempt a genuine and deep economic reform, as well as a democratic restructuring of the state in conditions of a crisis deeper than nine years ago, a crisis for which we are not responsible but for which we must pay if we want to hope for a better future," Walesa said in his statement.

Walesa also warned against any split within Solidarity and urged for a vigorous election campaign in favour of candidates supported by the union.

Onyszkiewicz said it was too early to present numerical data concerning the membership and to judge about the degree of representativeness of particular regions.

Asked about reasons behind his and Walesa's absence from today's court hearing, Onyszkiewicz said that although this fact gave certain satisfaction, it could not equal the triumphal registration of Solidarity in 1980. "We regarded it as a technical rather than symbolic fact. Representation of Solidarity in the courtroom was dictated by practical reasons, hence the absence of Lech Walesa," Onyszkiewicz said.

Kiszcak, Walesa Chair Coordination Meeting
LD1804145589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1355 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] An organizational meeting concerning the Coordination Commission was held in the Sejm building in Warsaw, jointly chaired by General Czeslaw Kiszcak and Lech Walesa. The methodology of the commission's work was discussed, and matters requiring the most urgent attention were reviewed. Two permanent teams for economic affairs and social policy, and an intervention team were appointed. It was also established that other teams may be appointed for the preparation of a stance on certain matters.

After the meeting ended, a meeting took place with the participation of Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak.

Solidarity Citizens Committee Created in Poznan
LD1704132489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Yesterday the Solidarity Citizens' Committee was instituted in Poznan. Its initiators were the Poznan members of the committee affiliated with Lech Walesa.

The name "Solidarity," that is, a replica of its structures, as was stated at a press conference, was loaned by the trade union, for the period of the elections. The committee comprises 70 representatives of oppositional and independent groups and it is chaired by Professor Janusz Ziolkowski, a sociologist from the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan.

Next Thursday, the Poznan Committee will publish the names of its candidates as Sejm deputies and senators, although the principle in force will be that there will be one candidate each deputy or senator sent, so as to avoid dispersal of votes, for instance in the framework of the 35 percent pool of mandates to the Sejm outside of the widely understood ruling coalition. The Solidarity citizens committee in Poznan intends to carry out a widening action to popularize the candidates selected by it. A great rally is planned in the (?Arena) hall on 28 April in the course of which the signatures of electors under declarations supporting particular candidates will be gathered.

U.S. Response to 'Roundtable' Welcomed

AU1804080889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
12 Apr 89 p 7

[Commentary by Maksymilian Berezowski: "A Change of Tone Toward Poland"]

[Text] Over the last few days news reports about Poland have been heard all over the world. The reports are encouraging. Reaction to the agreement concluded at the "roundtable" is literally coming in from all over the world—the reactions are positive and are sometimes full of admiration. Without succumbing to megalomania because of this, we can say that the response is all the more logical in that many foreign services view the outcome of the session as a factor that brings stability and an opening up in the center of Europe, and thus as the kind of evolution that will benefit all those forces that are interested in ending the cold war once and for all and in fostering partnerlike cooperation.

We particularly noted that this kind of reaction to the agreements signed in the Namiestnikowski Palace was not confined to the Europeans, but also came from leaders, politicians, opinion-makers, and governments in many distant parts of the world. The recognition expressed by President George Bush sincerely pleased us. As we know, George Bush had an opportunity to familiarize himself with Poland's difficult problems during the visit that he paid to Poland as vice president of the United States.

We are viewing this change of tone toward Poland with obvious satisfaction. This tone indicates that the changes that have been initiated in Poland are appreciated. The latest press reports from Washington repeatedly state, drawing on information from official sources, that the American authorities intend soon to provide Poland with loans and credits along with suggestions from

Poland's creditors. We want to be able to hope that on this occasion reality will keep pace with intentions and that the positive verbal statements that have been made about the extensive changes taking place in Poland will soon be reflected in the decisions made in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

There are also reports stating that President Bush is to have expressed a wish to visit Poland once again as soon as his schedule permits him to do so. He will of course be a welcome visitor in our country, three previous American presidents having found that they were welcome in the past. Incidentally, we can mention here that since President Bush's visit to Poland, high level American-Polish contacts have been stepped up; one need only mention last year's visit to the United States by the Polish minister of foreign affairs, the first after several years, as well as the meetings with James Baker, the new secretary of state, and George Shultz, his predecessor.

Real opportunities are now emerging for giving Polish-American relations extensive substance in the economic, financial, and scientific and technical spheres, in short, for keeping pace with the positive way in which political relations are developing.

Even before the end of the "roundtable," when the prospect of their successful completion appeared on the horizon, forward-looking American analysts and commentators started encouraging their government and Congress to move toward satisfying Poland's needs and aspirations. Illinois Congressman William Lipinski spoke in this vein. Speaking in the House of Representatives, he asked what America's response would be to the need for "moves that would reduce the burden of the (Polish) debt," and added: "It would not be right to leave economic policy solely to international organizations." It can be assumed that these anticipatory statements did not go through Washington without eliciting a reaction.

The role of a reformer that Poland has assumed in many respects can, under favorable circumstances, help pave the way toward basing relations between East and West on new principles of partnership. We are not seeking rewards for this reason, but we wish to believe that thinking in broader, more open categories is becoming a part of the dialogue linking countries and continents.

Further on SFRY President Dizdarevic's Visit
LD1404142389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1320 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic arrived here Friday on an official and friendly three-day visit to Poland at the invitation of president of the Council of State and first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) Central Committee, General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

During the afternoon Dizdarevic will call on marshal of the Sejm (Polish Assembly) Roman Malinowski. This will be followed by talks between President Dizdarevic and President Jaruzelski.

Members of the Yugoslav delegation accompanying President Dizdarevic will have separate talks with Polish Government members - member of the Yugoslav Federal Government Dzevad Mujezinovic with Polish Deputy Prime Minister Kazimierz Olesiak and Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar with Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

All members of both delegations are scheduled to meet later today.

According to the timetable, General Jaruzelski will give a formal dinner in honour of Yugoslav State Presidency President Dizdarevic.

Dizdarevic arrived in Warsaw from Bratislava, the closing stage of his official and friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

Jaruzelski Welcomes Dizdarevic
LD1404230789 Warsaw PAP in English 2151 GMT
14 Apr 89

["Jaruzelski's Speech (Abridged)"]—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—I welcome you cordially on the Polish soil. We are glad that we can act as hosts to the outstanding state activist from socialist Yugoslavia who has been for years involved in the deepening of cooperation between our two countries.

Friendship that links us is rooted in long-standing traditions of struggles for freedom and independence.

Profound changes in the life of our two countries give rise to new needs and new chances. Convergent are directions of both the search and transformations taking place in Yugoslavia and Poland.

The programme of deep social and political transformations is stemming from Polish historical conditionalities and experience. But it has a lot of features that are related to transformations taking place in other socialist countries. Thus we are looking with attention at experience of friendly Yugoslavia in overcoming complex problems arising in the building of socialism.

East-West relations are of particular significance for the building of climate of confidence, detente and consolidating of international security. Their (East-West relations) recent clear improvement results, above all, from peaceful initiatives of socialist countries.

The historic agreement on the liquidation of shorter and medium range nuclear missiles, as well as Soviet decisions on the unilateral reduction of conventional weapons on the European continent, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. and implemented consistently, bring closer the vision of the common European home.

Poland is taking part in the negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and in the negotiations on confidence-building measures and security. The contribution we are making to these talks is the well-known initiative to reduce armaments and to increase confidence in Central Europe. Our decisions to decrease military potential and to reduce military expenditure are also serving this goal. We still expect that bold initiatives of socialist states will meet with a positive resonance in the West, adequate to their significance.

The new thinking is winning ground not without difficulties. But it does not have any realistic alternative, especially in Europe, whose 20th-century history has Sarajevo and Gdansk on its pages. There is a chance emerging now so that the European policy be based for the first time on mutual respect for interests and equal-rights relations of all states.

We are consolidating our ties with developing countries. We are extending solitary support to their efforts aimed at extinguishing regional conflicts, restructuring world economic relations and struggle against neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid.

We are of the opinion that it is indispensable to solve the problem of indebtedness in a world scale and in a long-term and systemic way. We highly hold Yugoslavia's constructive participation in the non-aligned movement.

Dizdarevic Greets Jaruzelski

LD1404231389 Warsaw PAP in English 2207 GMT
14 Apr 89

["Dizdarevic's Address (Abridged)"]—PAP headline

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—We convey cordial regards from the Presidium of the Socialist Federative republic of Yugoslavia to you, Comrade President and dear Polish friends, and we convey best wishes of happiness and every success for the Polish People's Republic and befriended Polish nation from our nations and nationalities.

We continue dialogue started in the spirit of joint care to enable mutual relations and cooperation of Yugoslavia and Poland to develop permanently, concretely and constructively in the increasingly better understood interests of both sides.

Rejecting former eternal and universal truths and a monopoly on them, we follow most closely and appreciate new tendencies and creative strivings and search in Poland.

Every nation and society have an inalienable right to their own way of life and their own forms of implementing progress because what they do, they do for themselves. Now you close one and, as you yourselves stress, open a new epoch in the development of post-war Poland. Fundamental reforms, that gained the broadest social consensus, and socialist parliamentary democracy are your present road and we wish you all success on this road. And we have a conviction that your success will contribute to enriching the forms of socialism as a world process.

After covering a long road of search and success, our country today pressed by the burden of difficulties, many of which are not only its share, paves itself the road out of the crisis by deep reforms leading to more modern economy and creating more effective system of democracy.

Our two countries jointly covered a long road of cooperation. Today, we have the right to say that we are linked by economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other relations that are developed in an all-round way and mutually advantageous. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that we can achieve much more. There is every reason to look with full optimism in the future of Yugoslav-Polish relations.

We belong to Europe which is still divided into the east and west, north and south. Nevertheless, the results of these divisions are no longer so disastrous as until quite lately. Only by developing cooperation and building mutual confidence on this road, Europe can gradually free itself from the still remaining prejudices and fears, exclusiveness and suspicion.

Simultaneous talks on disarmament and European security and on conventional disarmament can open a new chapter of cooperation now.

The condition sine qua non is the existence of the possibilities of economic boom for everybody and the possibilities of close cooperation of everybody with everybody. One should overcome the existing economic and other barriers and the practice of regional closing within oneself.

There is no doubt that one we owe improvement in relations worldwide to steps taken by the great powers and the started process of disarmament, nevertheless, the stability of permanent process of building more secure world, extinguishing crisis hotbeds of tension and removing their causes requires further democratization of international relations, implementing the right of all people to exercise influence on solutions concerning their own fate. The world can achieve still more and more only by joint effort and with fully equal rights.

The world of non-alignment, of which Yugoslavia is a member, sees also today its responsibility towards the world's entire community in this.

In the face of new challenges, the non-aligned movement seeks more effective ways of implementing its principles and goals, and ways of greater influence on positive development of international relations and affirmation of common interests of the entire international community.

Jaruzelski Presents Award

*LD1404232889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] This evening in the Palace of the Council of Ministers there was a ceremony to honor Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, with a Grand Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the Polish People's Republic. Awarding the honors, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that it is an expression of respect for the contribution which Raif Dizdarevic has given in the development of friendship between the nations of the two states. Next, the chairman of the Council of State treated the Yugoslav guest to dinner, during which both statesmen delivered speeches.

Raif Dizdarevic has been in Poland on an official friendship visit since yesterday.

TANJUG Reviews Meeting

*LD1504051789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0441 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Poland welcome the advancement of relations between the two superpowers and the launched process of disarmament which has had a positive affect on international relations and security in Europe and the world, Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic and Polish State and Party leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out in an exchange of toasts in Warsaw's last night.

President Dizdarevic, head of a Yugoslav delegation which also includes Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and government member Dzevad Mujezinovic, arrived yesterday on a three-day official visit to Poland.

During yesterday's round of talks at the highest level, held in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, views were exchanged on the most important questions which concern the two traditionally friendly socialist countries, as well as international issues. Despite the difference in international positions, it was concluded that the two countries views on the current international situation to a great extent coincide or are very close.

During the talks with Marashal of the Sejm Roman Malinowski, the two sides underscored the significance of parliamentary cooperation for the promotion of bilateral relations.

The second round of talks at the highest level will take place this morning, after which Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski will organize a lunch in honour of his high-ranking Yugoslav guest.

Hungary's Pozsgay on Future PZPR Policy

*LD1404181289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by correspondent Gabor Nemes in Warsaw on 14 April—recorded]

[Text] [Nemes] You have held talks with numerous Polish politicians the last 2 days. What interested you the most? The mechanism for managing the lasting crisis, the experiences of the roundtable, or perhaps the state of emergency scenario?

[Pozsgay] Everything from the first two spheres interested me very much. I did not enquire about the state of emergency scenario, precisely because the state of emergency did not bring either reconciliation or a solution of the crisis for Poland. It can be ruled out as an option. Thus, I was interested primarily in the positive political experiences.

Doubtlessly, anyone in Hungary who now deals with policy planning has to think also of long-term crisis management, but I was most interested in the experiences of the roundtable.

Sooner or later we will have a roundtable in our country as well, if the future partners put aside their organizational ambitions and feelings born from ambition; the nation's destiny, I will quickly add, rests on a policy against catastrophe.

[Nemes] You departed directly after the Central Committee session, so you were unable to state your opinion publicly. Allow me to ask whether the personnel changes mean a political change, perhaps a change of direction.

[Pozsgay] Scarcely a change of direction, but they by all means will bring a political change. A more resolute reform orientation will appear in the work of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. By this, perhaps it not only will manage to catch up with itself and with the political situation in Hungary, but it will again take steps in an initiating role.

[Nemes] This reform wing is preparing for a meeting tomorrow in Kecskemet. What is this Kecskemet meeting intended to be—the founding of a platform, or the organization of a platform?

[Pozsgay] A platform could come out of it, but we intend it first and foremost to be an intellectual workshop, or to create a community of wide-ranging reform circles, reform clubs and program-preparing workshops, which are emerging in the most diverse places. This, albeit

within the MSZMP and while giving initiating nudges to the MSZMP, would help to keep the party on the track about which I spoke above, so that it should be of an initiating character.

[Nemes] So not only do you want to hammer out ideas, but you also want to form organizations?

[Pozsgay] We want to form organizations, or to give a certain kind of orientation to existing organizations.

A movement has unfolded around the MSZMP, indeed within certain MSZMP organizations, in the past few weeks; this is the movement of reform circles. Properly speaking, they are the ones with whom we must meet in Kecs-kemet. In the background, among the motivations for taking the initiative, there is also the intention that we should find ideological bases for the party program to be prepared for the next party congress.

[Nemes] A platform, or perhaps a narrow organizational framework? I am thinking now of a faction

[Pozsgay] There will be no question of faction, even less so of a split, although the demands and requirements pertaining to this may be voiced in the debate. I do not consider thinking of split to be tempting providence, in a crisis situation, in which the party, itself, is in crisis. It is only that I do not consider this to be an expedient policy now, because I see a possibility that, within the MSZMP, progress can be formulated and the reform can be placed in the focal point. However, a split would bring some disintegration, and not two parties, or several parties. It would entail disintegration, and there would emerge a power vacuum into which every other political structure would collapse.

Jaruzelski Gives Democratic Party Speech

LD1704170389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and president of the Council of State, given 17 April at the session of the 14th Democratic Party Congress in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed delegates, thank you for your invitation and the words of welcome. On behalf of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee I warmly greet the delegates gathered here and all the members of the SD [Democratic Party]. I wish you fruitful work. [applause] The landscape of our sociopolitical and economic life is changing rapidly. Your party has a significant contribution in this, it contributes precious political and system initiatives to the work of renewal. Today, however, we must think above all of what is ahead, of what will happen tomorrow.

The lasting effect and real influence of the roundtable on our national fate will be decided by the national agreement, respected in real life, in social practice. Some milieux do not identify themselves, as we know, with what has been achieved at the roundtable. As in every society, in Poland, various conflicts of interest, extremist streams, and various contradictions are also surfacing. We are far from the idealistic concept of the moral and political unity of the nation. The point is for the system, for the democratic mechanisms which we are creating, to allow the effective resolution of the contradictions in social peace without damaging the supreme state and national reasons. Concern for the good of the state is not, and should not be, anybody's monopoly. This is the matter of joint decisions and responsibility, the irrevocable duty of all the social and political forces who are genuinely concerned with the true interest of our nation and the future of our fatherland.

Esteemed participants of this meeting, the deliberations of your congress are coinciding with the 50th anniversary of the creation of the democratic movement in Poland. Since their inception, the democratic clubs were solidly in favor of the progressive streams in society. The Party and Democratic Party did not come close together from opposite poles; our alliance was created out of joint struggle against backwardness, obscurantism, and chauvinism, by recognizing civilized progress and social acceptance as an urgent national need.

Thus, it is now our common privilege to reach toward patriotic, left-wing, and democratic traditions; then, it was an essential premise for the meeting of communists, socialists, peasants, democrats, progressive Catholic, and Christian circles on the Polish road to socialism. It would be illusory to assume that socialism will be built by the party alone, that democracy will be created by democrats alone, that peasants alone will feed the nation, and that ethical values will be only ensured by people guided by the social teaching of churches. All these goals can be achieved only together, marching side by side and not confronting each other. This is how we understand our alliance [applause] and how we see it in the future.

The history of the multiparty system in Poland is complex. It cannot be painted with one color alone. It is not my concern to defend the history of your party, the achievements of its founders and outstanding activists from the generation of Mieczyslaw Michalowicz, Stanislaw Kulczynski, Wacław Barcikowski, Jan Romanowski, and other well known figures particularly from intelligentsia circles. They spoke with their own voices, at the same time maintaining allied credibility. Their names are linked with many real achievements. The idea of a broad national front, thus announcing the coalition form of government, was born together with the PZPR. The Stalinist period froze attempts of brave and original solutions. However, it is a fact that in Poland, a multiparty system was created, and despite sectarian ideas, it has been maintained.

Nevertheless, for a long time both theory and current practice were restricted and distorted in this matter, with obvious harm to the common cause. [applause] In an evaluation of the past, however, no one should replace anyone else. Because everyone went astray. It would, then, be purposeful to appoint a joint group of historians to make an objective study of the history of our allied cooperation, one free of emotions. [applause]. The coalition fundamentally signifies the voluntary cooperation of partners for the achievement of a concrete, primary aim. At the same time, we distinguish form from content. Coalitions, conceived of as temporary structures, have been made hundreds of times in history, even between partners who did not have very much in common. However, there are also those which accept as their unifying factor not only agreement between one side and another but, above all, principles, a concurrence of fundamental sociopolitical aims.

Our tripartite alliance is of such a nature. At the same time, we acknowledge in agreement that the condition for our partnerlike authenticity is the complete independence and identity of each participant. [applause] This is sometimes understood in a simplistic way, at the cost of others. And yet, in the final account, no one in the coalition becomes stronger at someone else's expense. Because this way the whole becomes weaker. We must, separately and together, be strong and ever stronger. [applause]

Nothing indicates that the ideological identity and organizational independence of the SD could today be threatened by the left. The danger may approach, rather, from those directions which would wish to dilute the progressive, liberal genealogy and the strategic aims of the party through devious phrasology and render them sterile. We, your friends, are looking at this with calm and confidence, because you have proved many times that extremist tendencies have no chance. [applause] The concept of the coalitional wielding power is not, and will not be for the PZPR, a slogan which is temporary and subject to change depending on circumstances. This is the result of profound thinking and various experiences. There are, of course, costs of pioneering searches and solutions. The point is, therefore, not to waste the values that came from cooperation in the past.

Our alliance was tested and toughened in many trials. Recent months enriched it with new and educating experience. At its core will be the partnership of the PZPR, United Peasant's Party [ZSL], and SD. The next circle involves our cooperation with associations of Catholics and lay Christians, with the signatories and the social aktiv of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and nonparty citizens.

Finally, the situation in Poland and the need to cope with the challenges of civilization and social aspirations constitute an objective premise for entering into another, broader, proreform coalition. We would like it to include

trends, groups and persons of different origin, and different ideological and political orientation. This is in Poland's interests. Searching for new forms of broad understanding, being aware of its responsibility, the PZPR as the main, but not only, historically determined guarantor of the political order will not give up its class roots. It defends and will defend its identity, and strengthen the achievements of renewal and acceleration, in accordance with the spirit of the 10th plenum, and the transformation process.

The new practice of coalitional cooperation is taking shape. We should enrich it. I think that at the coming meetings of the leaders of the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD, referring to the declaration of cooperation of December 1980, we will be able to work out and approve essential changes and additions which correspond to the present phase of the development of sociopolitical life in Poland.

Esteemed congress participants. The recent months have brought enormous animation and not rarely an excess of words as well. But a man does not live by politics alone. People are today concerned mostly about financial difficulties and everyday hardship. The present economic difficulties reflect not only the price of overcoming the past, but the cost of reformatory transformations. One receives something for something else. Therefore, following the current of justified aspirations and expectations of the nation at the same time often means moving against the current of illusions, demagoguery, and seemingly easy solutions.

The legal equality of all economic sectors creates for craftsmen and small producers broad—the broadest for many decades—possibilities of lasting participation in the development of the country's economic potential, particularly in the very socially important sphere of services and individual innovative activity in the manufacturing of market goods. Wealth which comes from above-average work, initiative, and enterprising spirit should not offend anyone. However, provocative and immoral, particularly against the background of the present shortages, is wealth born from greed, from so-called fixing and from various machinations. Appeals will not replace strict market mechanisms. Therefore, the PZPR and the SD should ensure that the socialist principles of social justice are not abused either by those who, instead of working better, put their hands into somebody else's pockets, or by those who fill their pockets dishonestly.

The period of intense industrialization in our country has resulted in a natural trend for migration toward large industrial centers. In the conditions presently being formed, a proper ratio in the development of the entire country should be maintained. The SD can also contribute toward enlivening entire towns and housing developments, allowing the development of this smaller Poland and traditions of organic grass-roots work have become the common goal of our entire coalition and of all citizens.

Dear friends, you are meeting only several days after the completion of the roundtable debate, thus the 14th congress gains broader significance. With elections before us, we will go together, we do not wish the elections to be a confrontation. However they will demand an all out effort, effective cooperation, and consistency in the formation and defense of the best programs and the best candidates which our coalition will support.

We went together through difficult times, we will be together today, when the cloudy sky begins to brighten.

You will always find a loyal and honest ally in the PZPR.

I wish you cordially fruitful and creative debate. [applause]

Urban Named Radio, TV Committee Chairman

LD1704171889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] A meeting of the extended Presidium of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee started this afternoon in the television building on Woronicza Street. The presence of Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Stanislaw Ciosek pointed to its unusual nature. The prime minister announced that Janusz Roszkowski has been recalled from the post of chairman of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee. As of today Jerzy Urban is its new chairman.

Urban Interviewed on New Post

LD1704182189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] At the Radio and Television headquarters, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski thanked Janusz Roszkowski, up until now the chairman of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee, for his work, which was highly assessed. He also submitted Jerzy Urban's nomination to this post. Shortly after receiving the nomination, the new chairman gave an interview to our reporter Marek Kassa:

[Begin recording] [Kassa] Minister, what will the radio and television be like under your management?

[Urban] I do not know. I hope not worse than so far.

[Kassa] Don't you regret leaving the post of the government spokesman?

[Urban] I regret leaving this post very much.

[Kassa] Are you going to be equally important as chairman of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee as you were as the government press spokesman, who has left an indelible mark?

[Urban] I don't know, but I doubt it. It is easier for a spokesman to shine, as everything depends on what he does and says himself and on his own ideas. It is a completely different thing to head a team, where the head of an institution can be a person who has no impact, or who has only a very indirect impact.

[Kassa] Do you expect that in the nearest future there will be some tangible evidence of the fact that you have taken over the management of the Radio and Television Committee?

[Urban] I cannot promise this, because I have really come here like a customer would come to this building; I do not know anything yet.

Writer Regains Party Membership After 30 Years

LD1704190889 Warsaw PAP in English
1649 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—A new membership card was handed here today to Polish writer Jan Wyka, expelled from the PUWP [Polish United Worker's Party] 30 years ago.

"I am glad this problem has such a final. I have respect for the life of Comrade Wyka, his experience and attitude which has never changed," said PUWP CC [Central Committee] Secretary Marian Stepien at a ceremony in the Warsaw-centre PUWP District Committee.

Wyka said for his part that he had never ceased to be a communist and never accepted the decision on his expulsion from the party. "I know that now I am joining a party which ceased to be a Stalinist one and that it will realize the ideas for which I have been struggling all my life," he said.

Writers Association Petitions for Registration

LD1704215189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] An application has been submitted at the voivodship court in Warsaw for the registration of the Association of Polish Writers. The application has been supported by about 350 writers who did not join the Writer's Union.

Physicist Repeats U.S. Nuclear Fusion Experiment

LD1704221889 Warsaw PAP in English
2118 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—Scientists of the Warsaw-based Institute of Plasma Physics and Laser Microfusion have successfully repeated the Fleishmann-Pons experiment, that is carried out a nuclear fusion in room temperature.

"We have unquestionably recorded a neutron emission," Prof Mieczyslaw Szustakowski, the institute's director, said. "For the first time we have recorded in Poland and probably in the world a number of pulses occurring at irregular intervals, each generating a million of neutrons," he added.

Ceausescu Speech at RCP Plenum Published
AU1704121689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
15 Apr 89 pp 1-3

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu," RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the closing session of the 12-14 April RCP Central Committee plenum, in Bucharest on 14 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: The plenum of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee is a moment of historic importance in the development of our fatherland and in the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society.

These days we discussed a number of very important issues for the country's socioeconomic development and the fatherland's firm progress toward communism.

One can say that the 12-14 April period marks Romania's full economic and political independence! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers)

For the first time in its long history, Romania no longer has any foreign debt, no longer pays tribute to anyone, and is truly independent from an economic and political viewpoint! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!", and "Ceausescu-Romania—our esteem and pride!")

At the end of last March, we liquidated the country's foreign debt, which in 1980 amounted to more than \$11 billion. All in all, from 1975 up to March 1989, we paid back some \$21 billion, of which interest amounted to more than \$7 billion. This does not include our debts in rubles, which were also paid back a long time ago.

Currently our country has to cash loans granted to various countries in excess of \$2.5 billion.

Repayment of our foreign debt has undoubtedly required great efforts. In this period, we had to take such steps as to ensure the country's overall development, while also gradually eliminating the entire debt; at the same time, we took all necessary measures to further strengthen order and discipline and to enhance the proper administration and management of all sectors of activity.

As is well known, from 1980 to this day, the world economic situation has been very complex and serious. The situation of the developing countries, whose foreign debt currently exceeds \$1,300 billion, has worsened continuously.

In adopting the decision to fully repay the foreign debt in this decade, we proceeded from the fact that only by eliminating our debts will we be able to ensure our full economic and political independence and to unflinchingly

implement the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society, thus creating the necessary conditions for Romania's firm progress toward communism! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!", and "Ceausescu-Romania—our esteem and pride!")

At the same time, we decided to take such steps as to ensure the fatherland's socioeconomic development and further raise the people's material and intellectual living standard.

In the 1981-89 period, we allocated more than 2,000 billion lei to development; calculated at the noncommercial rate of the dollar, this figure amounts to more than \$200 billion.

This year the industrial production is 50 percent higher than in 1980. The agricultural production will be almost 1.5 times higher. The volume of commodities sold to the people at current rates is 40 percent higher than in 1980. In this period, the overall remuneration fund increased by about 60 percent and the average remuneration by some 50 percent. As is well known, remunerations and pensions were increased twice in the 1981-89 period. This year, we will conclude the second remuneration and pension increase drive by 1 August.

At the same time we increased child allowances by some 70 percent and social expenditures per inhabitant by more than 44 percent.

Generally speaking, in this period we finished huge industrial, agricultural, and other projects of national interest and we built more than 1 million apartments. In this period, we commissioned the Danube-Black Sea Canal and the Poarta Alba-Midia Navodari Canal, with a total length of 100 km; we also built the Bucharest subway, which this year will reach a length of 60 km, carried out improvement operations along the Dimbovita River, and performed great modernization and systematization works in Bucharest, including the construction of the new political-administrative center.

Generally speaking, all the counties, towns, and communes of our socialist fatherland have registered a strong development. Any man of good faith can see the great changes that have occurred in Romania, changes that have raised the overall standard of living and civilization of all our people.

We have spoken about all this in order to emphasize that only through the general development of the forces of production, science, and culture were we able to repay our foreign debt and ensure the country's socioeconomic development. Without a strong socioeconomic development of industry, agriculture, and other sectors, our country would have remained backward and would not have been able to welcome the 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of the revolution for social and

national liberation with the present great achievements that have turned Romania from a backward country into a strong industrial-agrarian country, with a high standard of living and well-being for the whole nation. (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu-Romania—our esteem and pride!")

I submit to the RCP Central Committee that we make the decision—which should be adopted as law by the Grand National Assembly [GNA]—that nobody may resort to foreign credits in the future, so that the entire development of the country should be achieved through our own means, of course through broad international cooperation, but without credits! (Loud and prolonged applause)

I consider your applause an endorsement of this proposal. (Loud applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!", and "Ceausescu-Romania—our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed Comrades, the RCP Central Committee decision to cancel and reduce the debts of agricultural production cooperatives by 80 billion lei and the debts of inter-cooperative economic associations by about 20 billion lei is an important economic and political act, which shows the concern of our party and socialist state with strongly developing our socialist agriculture and creating ever better conditions for the fulfillment of the targets of the new agrarian revolution. (Loud and prolonged applause)

One must point out that, in the process of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, we allocated important funds for agricultural development on a yearly basis. The funds allocated in this respect from 1945 up to 1989 amounted to 666 billion lei, of which 602 billion lei was in the 1966-89 period.

Only thus were we able to carry out large irrigation and land improvement operations, increase soil fertility, equip and mechanize the agricultural sector, and thus ensure the overall progress of our socialist agriculture. As a matter of fact, life has shown—not only in our country, but throughout the world—that agriculture, like any other field of activity, cannot develop without the state's strong support and assistance. Our socialist agriculture could score its important results to date and will be able to continue its expansion in the future—in cooperation with the workers class and other social categories—only with the state's constant support, because agriculture is and will always be one of the key and best branches of our economy! (Loud and prolonged applause)

There is no doubt that the cancellation of the 100-billion lei debt requires great efforts, but we have the means of ensuring the necessary financial funds, even though the current debit balance amounts to 200 billion lei. There is no doubt that it would have been better if the cooperatives and other units had worked in such a way as to

make this debt cancellation unnecessary. However, I hope that all those working in agriculture, namely the cooperatives and cooperative workers, will draw all necessary conclusions from this and will better organize the entire activity and better administer and utilize available means, in order to further increase the vegetable and animal production and develop various industrial activities, so that the increase in the development level of cooperatives and communes becomes the result of the intensive work of our entire peasantry.

I am convinced that all cooperatives and all working people in agriculture will respond to these important measures by better fulfilling their duties in production and in the sphere of deliveries to state stocks, by increasing the quantity of agricultural and food products stipulated in contracts, so as to increase the contribution of our socialist agriculture to the country's overall development and the people's greater well-being. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, the plenum examined the balance sheet of economic-financial activity in 1988. Since last year's results were published in the plan fulfillment communique, I will not dwell upon these achievements now. Generally speaking, we have a good situation, but we still cannot be fully satisfied with it. Had we worked better, we would have been able to eliminate more shortcomings and achieve a better overall result. I emphasize this so that appropriate conclusions are drawn for this year's activity.

In the first quarter of 1989, we have also obtained a number of important results. The overall growth rate of industrial production exceeded 7 percent throughout this quarter. It is true that this overall figure also includes low growth rates in certain sectors, such as chemistry and metallurgy. However, you all heard the commitments assumed here by the comrade ministers of the two ministries, who pledged to take steps to commendably fulfill all plan indicators this year. As a matter of fact, this applies to all sectors of activity.

I would particularly like to stress the need to take resolute steps to firmly observe economic-financial regulations and the law on price-setting. In the second quarter of this year, we must totally eliminate products which register losses, so that we no longer have unprofitable enterprises; everybody should operate under the best possible conditions, on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration in all fields.

We must ensure the profitability of products and enterprises not by increasing prices, but by reducing production costs and material expenditures. In this respect, I would like to point out the correctness of our policy on production and consumer prices. As you could all see, the prices were also stable in 1988; in certain sectors, production prices and even retail prices have gone down.

The stability of and firm control over production and sale prices, including retail prices, is an objective requirement for successfully fulfilling our socioeconomic development plans and programs and we must continue to take firm steps along this line.

Last year, the working people received more than 9 billion lei from their participation in the development and profit-sharing funds. This is another important element of implementing self-management and self-administration and increasing the responsibility of the owners and producers for the good administration and management of the means entrusted to each collective of working people.

All economic and party cadres, the managerial councils, and all working people should properly realize that the strong increase in profits and profitability will ensure the allocation of greater amounts of money to the profit-sharing fund; likewise, the working people's participation in the development fund enables them to receive ever larger sums of money every year, which added to their regular remuneration, will lead to a general increase in the incomes and financial means of the working people.

From all these problems raised here, from the balance sheet examined by the plenum, and from the other documents adopted in this respect, one can note with satisfaction that, generally speaking, our economic situation is good and we are proceeding along the right way. The steps taken to implement self-management and self-administration and to increase the responsibility of cadres from all sectors and of the collectives of working people for the smooth development of overall activities are yielding ever better results.

However, we should further improve and raise to an ever higher level the concerted management of the entire economy, as the only basis for the successful construction of socialism and for the growth of the people's material and intellectual well-being. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, the report on problems pertaining to territorial-administrative organization and systematization tellingly demonstrates, on the basis of facts, the correctness of measures adopted in this area in 1968. The new territorial-administrative organization, which canceled the division into regions and rayons and set up counties, has opened up the way to a vigorous development of the forces of production throughout the country. The old industrial centers developed and 180 new industrial platforms were created. In 1968, 18 counties achieved an industrial output per capita worth less than 10,000 lei and in four of them the output amounted to less than 4,000 lei worth. In 1990 there will be no county with an output worth less than 50,000 lei per capita. All this demonstrates the correctness of the policy of the territorial distribution of the forces of production, of industry, other activities, and of developing agriculture

as the only means to improve civilization and the general standard of living as proof of the genuine equality of rights for all our homeland's sons. (Loud, prolonged applause)

I do not want to refer to other data, they are known and will be published. The changes that have taken place in the general development of the counties, towns, and communes, the increase in the population in cities, in the number of counties, and in the number of cities require certain amendments to the 1968 law and to other subsequent laws in accordance with the new realities.

Specifically, greater attention must be paid to the problem of the socioeconomic development of the cities and communes in the spirit of self-management and self-administration. Industrial activity, including small-scale industry, agricultural activity, and services must be developed appropriately in all cities and communes. I am talking specifically about communes where we must develop agriculture to a greater extent, so that we achieve yields worth at least 35,000-40,000 lei per agricultural hectare and worth 50,000-55,000 lei per tillable hectare. Small-scale industry must vigorously develop in each commune, so that by 2000 it will yield at least 10,000 lei per capita in communes, apart from the output of the large-scale industry. Services must also develop appropriately. By 1990 we should no longer have communes without mills and bakeries. An appropriately high level of education—the 10-year education—must be ensured in each commune and the second stage of the 12-year high school system must be ensured in all communes that have become agro-industrial centers. We must ensure proper medicare, medical units with 5-10 beds, and maternity wards in all communes, while in communes that are agro-industrial centers we must ensure hospitals with 50-100 beds. The activity of creativity centers, of educational and cultural establishments must be improved in all communes. The sports activity within the framework of "Dacia" sports competition has to be developed.

As the report presented at the plenum shows, we have to develop all activities needed for a civilized life! Commune residents should have everything available that is ensured for city residents against noise and pollution. (Loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, we must ensure appropriate housing for all cadres and specialists in communes, so that by 1990 all of them will live in the communes in which they are active.

It is necessary to firmly observe the provisions of the law on the systematization of localities and by no means should industrial, agricultural, and housing constructions be permitted outside the area earmarked for construction purposes, nor should arable land be used for such purposes.

The people's councils, together with the residents in each locality must work so that each city and commune becomes a strong socioeconomic center worthy of the socialist and communist society. Only thus will we be able to create the necessary conditions for the gradual eradication of the differences between cities and villages and bring the working and living conditions closer to each other, and only thus will we be able to improve our material and cultural standard of living in general. This is one of the essential requirements for successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism in our homeland. And we must do all we can to fulfill this vital requirement! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed Comrades, the Central Committee plenum has decided to convene the 14th RCP Congress in the second half of November of this year and has established the guidelines for Romania's socioeconomic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan—1991-1995—the prospects for the year 2000, and in certain areas prospects for the beginning of the third millennium. However, if we bear in mind the date when the first centralized state of the Dacians was created, then we may say that Romania, our people, have long since started their 3d millennium of existence.

The formulation of the theses and of the program-directive for the 14th RCP Congress must be based on the documents and decisions of the democratic forum of November 1988. Bearing in mind the noteworthy achievements of the Romanian people in the process of socialist construction, particularly in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, and taking account of the guidelines on our homeland's future development in general, the 14th RCP Congress can—justifiably—be characterized already as the congress of socialist victory and of Romania's complete economic and political independence. (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

In the years of socialist construction, our country passed through several stages of development. With achievements of historic importance, in a period of 40 years Romania has turned from a poorly developed and predominantly agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian country, thus ensuring an improved level of civilization and well-being for the whole nation. This year industrial output will be some 135 times larger than in 1945, of which the increase achieved after the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965 is 120-fold. We have a modern and comprehensively developed industry that incorporates all important sectors of the economy and that can manufacture very complex products of high quality and technical standard. In the same period agricultural output increased some 10 times over, of which the increase is more than six-fold since 1965. This year the national revenue will be 40 times higher than in 1945, of which a 33-fold increase was achieved after the Ninth RCP Congress.

On this lasting basis we have been able to ensure an overall development of the forces of production throughout the country and a constant improvement in the level of civilization and in the material and cultural standard of living of our entire nation.

All this demonstrates on the basis of undeniable facts the correctness of our Communist Party's policy of creatively applying the general economic laws and the principles of scientific socialism to the specific conditions in Romania, and it proves that ever since the Ninth RCP Congress we have broken with patterns, with "models," and we have adopted a policy matching our homeland's interests, while, at the same time, we have firmly applied the socialist principles by proceeding from the fact that only on the basis of scientific socialism can one really ensure the victory of socialism and communism, and only thus can one build a society without exploiters, a society of social justice and equity! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu, heroism—Romania, communism!")

This is why we can rightly affirm with justified pride that only in the conditions of socialism, once the exploiting classes, oppression, and inequalities had been eliminated, was it possible for the Romanian people—who became masters of their destiny under our glorious Communist Party's leadership—to attain achievements that were not possible for hundreds upon hundreds of years in the past. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Proceeding from this strong material base and from our homeland's socioeconomic potential, with complete confidence we are able to propose new targets for the coming period, being firmly convinced that it is in the power of the workers class, of the peasantry, intellectuals, and all our people, by working in close unity under the political leadership of the RCP, to achieve new and great achievements in forging the golden dream of communism. (Loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu-Romania!")

Esteemed Comrades, with the Ninth 5-Year Plan Romania will enter a new and higher stage of its socioeconomic development, the higher stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of creating the necessary conditions for the assertion of the communist principles of work and life. The guidelines established by the Central Committee plenum, on the basis of which we will formulate the program-directive, which will be submitted to the whole party and people for discussion and which will be presented at the 14th RCP Congress, aim at continuing the vigorous and smooth development of the forces of production and of all branches of activity.

The Ninth 5-Year Plan will continue to focus its activity on the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and in the other sectors of activity. On the whole, industrial output will increase by some 30-40 percent, while agricultural yields will increase by some 30-35

percent. One can say that the level of industrial and agricultural outputs will fully meet our people's needs, will allow the possibility of increasing exports to a greater extent, and will ensure Romania's active participation in the international division of labor.

The development of all socioeconomic branches must be based on the most modern achievements of science and technology, and on the requirements of the new agrarian revolution. Only on this basis will we be able to ensure that we will successfully achieve the new stage of our homeland's general development. This makes it necessary to pay greater attention than we have until now to concentrating the research potential on the basic areas of our homeland's development in order to fulfill the target of ensuring that in the next 10 years Romania will turn into a powerful force of science and culture, thus ensuring Romania's ever more dignified and independent role through its development in general and through strengthening the country's independence and sovereignty. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Particular attention must be paid in all areas to unflinchingly implementing the programs for organizing and modernizing the production process and all activities on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology. It has to be stressed that when we speak about modernization we understand that it means acquiring new technologies with reduced material consumption that will ensure quality products, new equipment characterized by better performance that will permit a concentration of certain operations and technological processes and the reduction, in this way, of material consumption and an increase in labor productivity that will enable us to build new and complex machinery and aggregates able to concomitantly perform several operations in all areas, new engines characterized by a substantial reduction of consumption, and, generally speaking, new products, new technologies, and new machines that will raise the Romanian economy—industry, agriculture, and all sectors—to the highest level of development.

Modernization in the sense I have mentioned, that is on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology, is a decisive factor for Romania and for the future of our homeland. Any other approach, any attempt to deal with modernization in an abstract way, while doing nothing along these lines or—as Caragiale [Romanian playwright] used to say—"Let us modify, but let us not change anything," will achieve nothing but will condemn the respective sectors and thus our country to stagnation and backwardness. Progress and well-being are linked to modernization, science, and a high level of technology. This is the essential issue of socialism and communism! (Loud, prolonged applause)

In the new 5-year plan we must place greater emphasis on improving the technical and qualitative standard of all products that should be manufactured at a high level

so that they may compete with the best such products in the world, and we must see to it that in some fields Romanian products rank first.

Special attention has to be paid to increasing economic efficiency and profitability by starting from the fact that all units must carry out their activity on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-administration by ensuring a proper management of the means of production entrusted to each collective of working people as the owners and producers, and attention must be paid to increasing profits considerably—the only way to create conditions for our homeland's development in general and for improving the standard of living of our whole nation.

Particular attention must be paid to increasing labor productivity in all areas based even more on scientific organization, on new equipment and complex and modern machinery, and on the basis of automation and mechanization of various operations in all sectors of activity.

In the next 5-year plan greater attention must be paid to developing our own raw material base and energy resources, and to unflinchingly implementing the programs for geological research and for making complete and efficient use of the new sources of materials and energy.

In the Ninth 5-Year Plan the energy problem will be completely solved in keeping with the optimal requirements of our people's socioeconomic development.

We will have to pay particular attention to perfecting and modernizing activity in the field of metallurgy, chemistry, the mining and oil industries, and in raw and other material processing branches.

In the field of agriculture, we will conclude irrigation and soil erosion combatting operations in general and we will more markedly increase the fertility of the soil, which is the major means of production.

We will have to ensure the maximum utilization of the means of our socialist agriculture in order to more markedly increase and guarantee vegetable and animal production under every condition and to ensure an adequate supply of agricultural products and foodstuffs for the population, while we satisfy the other requirements of our industry, including exports.

Throughout the entire processing industry, starting with the machine-building industry, we should focus on producing complex products, with a high technical level, which ensure both a marked increase of labor productivity and an increasingly higher qualitative and higher technical level of production.

In the field of investments, transportation, and other sectors of activity we will have to completely meet the requirements of a continuous development of production forces, by reducing costs to the lowest possible level.

Esteemed Comrades, in the Ninth 5-Year Plan period, we will have to pay particular attention to foreign trade, to expanding economic exchanges and cooperation in production, and to ensuring Romania's more active participation in the international exchange of material and spiritual values.

We highly value the important role of CEMA in the socioeconomic development of socialist countries and we are determined to actively participate in the work of perfecting the activity of this cooperative body, with a view toward fulfilling the programs up to the year 2000, adopted through joint agreement, programs that should ensure the balanced development of all the member countries, on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries. CEMA should develop special programs for the development of all member countries, on the basis of new economic and socialist principles.

We believe that CEMA has not exhausted its potential and by working to perfect its activity, it will be able to continue to play an increasingly active role in developing socialism and developing each country and in asserting the force of socialism, as the most just system in the world!

We will pay special attention to our cooperation with developing countries and I would like to reaffirm at this plenum that Romania will always remain together and in close cooperation with developing countries. We believe that there are broad possibilities to expand cooperation and collaboration and jointly achieve various objectives, which should ensure the socioeconomic progress of developing countries which are working together.

Likewise, we will continue to work in the future to expand economic and scientific-technical relations with developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We will firmly base all our economic relations on the principles of full equality, mutual benefit and the need to ensure cooperation at a high qualitative and technical level, as well as to ensure maximum efficiency.

On the basis of ensuring the general development of socioeconomic activity and international economic cooperation, we will have to ensure a more marked increase of our people's national wealth and of the national income.

The orientations established by the RCP Central Committee envisage a 40-50 percent increase of the national income. On this basis, we will acquire the necessary means to ensure our homeland's general development and to raise the material and cultural level of our people.

In the next 5-year plan period we will allocate about 70 percent of our national income to the consumption fund and 30 percent to the development fund. In establishing this ratio of distributing the national income, we proceeded from the experience of the past 24 years, which has ensured the strong development of production forces, raised the general level of civilization in our country, continuously increased the material and cultural well-being of our people, the supreme goal of the policy promoted by our party, the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania! (Loud, prolonged applause)

In the next 5-year plan period, we will continue to focus on the activity of developing and perfecting our whole nation's socialist and cooperative property and means of production. All the development funds will be directed toward the modernization and more marked development of socialist property, the supreme guarantee of successfully building socialism and communism, and ensuring Romania's independence and sovereignty! (Loud, prolonged applause)

In the entire activity of ensuring socioeconomic development and the development of production forces, of science, education, and culture, we should start from the need to ensure the best working conditions for all the citizens of our homeland. We will have to map out a general development plan for the entire country, the development of all the sectors of activity—industrial, agricultural, and social sectors—that can create appropriate working conditions for all the citizens, primarily for the youth.

We should take into consideration that one of the fundamental duties of our society is to ensure proper workplaces for all the sons of our homeland. (Loud, prolonged applause)

At the same time, we will have to perfect the system of remuneration on the basis of socialist principles and ensure equal pay for equal work, starting from the principle "no work without bread, no bread without work." In our socialist society nobody should be able to live without work or by exploiting the work of others! We have eliminated the exploitation of man by man and we are dutybound to do all we can in order to avoid ever having, under any circumstances, the possibility of oppressing and exploiting the work of people! This is one of the general and compulsory laws of socialism and communism! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Let us firmly apply the principles of the overall contract system and see to the possibility of ensuring and increasing income, deriving from the work and creative activity carried out for our country's development, in order to ensure the income of each working person. We should never forget that personal well-being can be achieved only together with the general well-being and development of our homeland and of our whole nation.

As I have stressed at the great forum of the workers revolutionary democracy at the end of November 1988, we will have to continuously perfect the management of our society in the spirit of the broadest democratic and workers' revolutionary principles.

Let us always proceed from the scientific revolutionary thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, in order to ensure the well-being of our nation and the freedom and independence of our homeland! (Loud, prolonged applause)

We should continuously strengthen our democratic forms and perfect our wonderful framework and our ties with the working peoples' masses, by ensuring the active participation of all of them in the whole activity of socioeconomic development and of implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our homeland.

In this respect, I would like to stress the importance of letters from working people and the party bodies and party and state cadres receiving these same people. As you remember, last year, about 700,000 people sent letters and more than 800,000 were received in audience. It is worth mentioning that, many of those letters and many citizens, during these meetings, primarily raised the problem of socioeconomic development, of the way in which the party and state decisions are being implemented, and they noted some shortfalls, including the shortcomings of some party and state cadres in various sectors of activity. This proves that the people's masses, the working people are making broad use of all the possibilities in order to make a more marked contribution to perfecting our entire activity. At the same time, it proves the great confidence of the people's masses and of our entire nation in our party and in our domestic and foreign policy which is fully in keeping with the vital interests of our country. (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!")

We should harmoniously blend the activity of implementing the principles of self-management and self-administration with the implementation of the uniform national plan for our homeland's socioeconomic development. We should continuously perfect the broad framework that we have created, and we should ensure the optimal operation of and increasingly closer cooperation between state bodies and democratic, revolutionary bodies, as a way to ensure the increasing participation of the people in the management of all the sectors of activity, the gradual diminution of the role of the state, and the more marked increase of the role of workers-revolutionary bodies and of the people in the activity of consciously building their free and independent future and destiny—communism! (Loud, prolonged applause)

We must bear in mind that, in any circumstances, the concerted management on the basis of the uniform national development plan is an objective and compulsory requirement for the successful construction of socialism and communism. Any deviation from this

principle, any other path chosen, will only weaken the force of socialism, open up the road to anarchy, and lead to stagnation and regression.

Within the framework of improving all sectors of activity, we must pay appropriate attention to developing our armed forces and other state organs, improving the activity of legal bodies, and ensuring the strict observance of laws and of norms of socialist ethics and equity in all fields of activity.

In this respect, I would like to draw attention to the need to take resolute steps to improve the environment, by firmly applying existing measures and programs in this respect, because socioeconomic development and the growth of the fatherland's overall level are closely linked to ensuring ever better ecological conditions. Only thus will we be able to ensure an increasingly higher living standard for our nation! (Loud and prolonged applause)

The more we improve and develop the democratic forms of the participation of the masses and people in consciously shaping their own future, the firmer we should stand against any deviations and violations of laws and norms of social coexistence and against all those who jeopardize socialist construction, national independence, and the country's sovereignty. The revolutionary workers democracy presupposes responsibility for the people, for the fatherland's future, and for its independence! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!" and "Ceausescu-Romania—our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed Comrades, the RCP Central Committee plenum discussed a report on the party's activity in various fields and adopted appropriate decisions. We must emphasize that we have a strong party, with more than 3.7 million members, in which the workers and peasants amount to more than 70 percent. We have a young party, where party members under 40 represent some 50 percent and party members under 30, some 20 percent. The proportion of women party members has increased to more than 35 percent. We have a good national composition, which reflects itself in the proportion of citizens of various nationalities.

Hundreds of thousands of activists are working in the leadership of party committees and organizations. These people represent a huge force, responsible for ensuring the smooth activity of party bodies and organizations and increasing the party's role in all spheres of activity.

It is necessary to continue to take firm steps to increase the party's ranks with the best and most advanced workers, peasants, and intellectuals from all spheres of activity. We must lay greater emphasis on the quality of party members. Acceptance in the party should not be a mere formality, but an act of great political importance for those willing to join our party ranks.

We must further pay appropriate attention to admitting workers to our party. We have been, are, and will continue to be the party of the workers class, the most advanced class of our socialist society, the class which has the historic mission of ensuring the construction of socialism and communism in our fatherland and throughout the world! (Loud and prolonged applause)

As a matter of fact, the workers class represents and will continue to represent the main social force. It is true that the development of science and technology presupposes an increase in the overall level of knowledge; however, this does not diminish the role of the workers class in the development of society. On the contrary, it increases its role. The growth of the technological intelligentsia and of the intelligentsia in general must be understood as closely linked to the growth of the workers class and of its overall scientific-technical level. The role of the workers class will not disappear, because we are and must be a society of equal work, in which work is the only decisive element of the entire socioeconomic development. Of course, I mean work on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres of activity! (Loud and prolonged applause)

As long as we remain, and we must remain, a party of the workers class—by this we understand a party of all the people and the whole nation—we will be invincible and will always fulfill, I am convinced of this, the historical mission we have assumed, namely to lead our nation toward the high peaks of progress and civilization. I am convinced that the workers class everywhere will realize this sooner or later, because, from a historical viewpoint, there is no alternative to socialism and communism! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

It is necessary to continuously stimulate and improve the activity of party bodies and organizations. The principles and provisions of the party Statute and of party democracy are in full accordance with the current requirements of party activity and of the revolutionary workers democracy in general. In order to always meet the ever growing overall requirements, we must ceaselessly raise the level of organizational work, of party control, and of the revolutionary responsibility of Communists who, as I have said on many occasions, do not have different rights from other people in our society. They have special responsibilities—responsibilities they have assumed by joining the RCP—namely to always act as revolutionaries for the people's ever increasing well-being and standard of living, and for the victory of socialism and communism! However, our party members should work in such a way as to always be on the same wavelength with the people, because only with the people will we be able to score victories in all spheres. (Loud and prolonged applause)

As the report to the plenum points out, we have good results in implementing our cadre policy, in raising the level of the party-state aktiv, and in firmly applying the

principle of rotation and competitive cadre promotions. Generally speaking, we have good provisions and results. However, one should take firmer steps in this respect and in all fields, so as to apply the basic principles of competitive testing, which actually means an examination of the cadres' knowledge. In accordance with the law, nobody should be promoted or moved from one category to another without an examination.

Raising the general level of knowledge of the party-state cadres and all working people is one of the basic prerequisites for smooth activity in all spheres. I believe it is no longer necessary to emphasize that the people are those who actually decide how our targets are implemented in all spheres! Everything depends on the skills of cadres from top to bottom, and I stress this, from top to bottom, because the managerial cadres from all fields must also continuously raise their level of knowledge. Nobody should believe that if he has reached a certain position, he need no longer read or learn. On the contrary, the more important the job one holds, the more he has to study and learn! If he does not do this, he will be left behind and, willy-nilly, will have to make room for others.

This is life, and even if some think that they do not have to learn any more, progress and activities cannot be held back. Not to improve yourself means to remain backward. To believe that you know everything already means that you are marching backward rather than forward. I seriously stress this because the complex problems facing our party and people are closely linked to raising the overall level of knowledge in all fields—the professional, technical, and managerial levels, and all their aspects—and to understanding the complex nature of problems pertaining to socioeconomic development and international life, in order to establish the direction of our fatherland's firm advance toward new peaks of progress and civilization.

These are the problems facing us in the sphere of cadres and cadre training; these are the problems of a correct cadre policy! (Loud and prolonged applause)

Regarding political-ideological activity, in spite of the fact that we have a number of positive results and are making all-encompassing efforts in all fields, one should bear in mind that there is a certain lag in the development of revolutionary awareness and of the ideological and political level, compared with the overall development of the forces of production in our society. Of course, one can say that we have advanced too fast in the development of our forces of production, but I believe it is wrong to think and judge matters like that. It is more likely that we have not paid the necessary attention to raising the level of overall awareness and training, in relation to the general development of our society; hence, we must take more resolute steps to eliminate this state of affairs.

We must aim at speedily obtaining such results as to ensure that consciousness and the political-ideological level become a strong element of stimulating and developing our entire society. Likewise, it is necessary to intensify the political-ideological activity and to broadly discuss the current problems of the socioeconomic development, of the progress of science and human knowledge, and of the overall development of mankind, on the basis of the revolutionary outlook about life and the world, namely dialectical and historical materialism, and on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. This means that both party education and state education, including the teaching of social sciences, that is, the entire state education network, should pay greater attention to the problems of the political-ideological work and to generally raising the revolutionary awareness.

In this respect, I believe one should emphasize the need for greater attention to be paid to the study of the basic principles of scientific socialism and of other important fields of natural and social sciences, so as to arm the party and all the people with a highly revolutionary outlook about life and the world, and to teach our youth and young generations how they should act not only to understand but also to change nature and the world, and to build a society with greater scientific and revolutionary awareness.

I stress all this because there is a close dialectical unity between scientific knowledge and the revolutionary outlook. One cannot be a good scientist without also being a good revolutionary and without properly understanding and mastering the laws of human social development, the laws of nature, and the latest achievements of science and technology. At the same time, we must strongly emphasize that the general laws and principles of socialism are continuously improving and developing, in accordance with the latest achievements and human knowledge. Likewise, one must emphasize that the forms of building the socialist society are not written in stone, that there are no set patterns and models, and that each people and party must establish its forms of socialist construction, in accordance with its own concrete socioeconomic conditions and with the new developmental stage of human society.

What was good and appropriate at a given time can become outdated and even an obstacle to progress.

To be a revolutionary means to always master what is new, to resolutely struggle against what is old and outdated, and to improve the entire activity in accordance with the new requirements, by always proceeding from the need to build socialism and communism and a world without exploiters and oppressors.

One cannot talk about improving socialism and the principles of socialist economic development by returning to more or less developed forms of capitalism!

I mention all this because it is necessary for our party to examine in detail the basic problems of socialist development. In this respect, I believe it is very important to re-edit some of the basic works of the founders of scientific socialism, particularly Marx and Engels. As general, long-term guidance material, these works fully preserve their topicality and also arm the party, people, and young generation with the method of scientific analysis of social development and of mankind's development in general.

One could not demand that Marx, Engels, Lenin, or others come up with solutions and recipes for current problems. However, their way of thinking and tackling problems and their revolutionary class spirit should constitute a model of scientific analysis for all Communists and the entire young generation.

There is no way in which one can think of socialist development and talk about renouncing, in one way or another, or diminishing the class struggle. Class struggle has always been the basis of mankind's progress and social development. The struggle between oppressors and oppressed and between the old and the new has always been the foundation of human social development. To say today that the class struggle should be replaced by other concepts means to sentence socialism to stagnation and to come, in one form or the other, to the aid of capitalism and imperialism. This is not possible! (Loud applause)

Therefore—I want to repeat—we should arm our party and people with the most advanced revolutionary concepts and with the principles of scientific socialism, and we should constantly bear in mind that only by remaining revolutionaries will we remain true Communists and will we ensure the victory of communism in Romania! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—heroism, Romanian—communism!"')

We should firmly base our ideological and political-educational activity on the party program, the ideological program, and the documents of the Central Committee congresses and plenary meetings, which represent the expression of scientific socialism in the conditions prevailing in our country and the practical and theoretical generalization of experience in socialism construction.

Our whole political, organizational, and ideological activity with cadres should lead to the continuous strengthening of the party and its unity and the force of action in all its areas!

Everything that we have achieved so far is closely connected with the leading political role of the party in all sectors of activity. The activity of perfecting the management of socialism and democratizing socioeconomic activity requires not the weakening but the strengthening of the leading political role of the party and a close unity

between the party and people—this being an objective requirement and the supreme guarantee for Romania's firm advance toward socialism and communism. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, the assessments of the international situation, made at the great democratic forum at the end of November, are still completely topical.

The international situation continues to be very complex, contradictory, and serious. The achievement of some agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on the reduction of nuclear weapons, the opening of Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, the halting of some conflicts and the achievement of some agreements on finding negotiated solutions to some conflicts raise many hopes among mankind about the prospect of achieving new agreements and new understandings that can open up the path toward eliminating war from the life of mankind and toward ensuring a lasting peace. Nevertheless, one cannot forget that nuclear countries, primarily the United States and the Soviet Union, have large stocks of various types of nuclear weapons that are capable of destroying all of mankind and life itself on our planet many times over. NATO continues to discuss the transition to modernizing a whole series of short-range nuclear missiles. Nuclear tests and research for the militarization of the outer space continue.

As long as there are nuclear weapons there will be a threat of a nuclear war, which will lead—I want to repeat—to the destruction of mankind and to the elimination of life itself from our planet.

That is why the fundamental issue of our times is to halt the nuclear arms race and to proceed to their complete elimination, in several stages. It is necessary to eliminate nuclear tests and the program of militarizing outer space, to renounce the idea of modernizing short-range nuclear missiles—both by the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries—under an appropriate international control, and to give up the political concept of "ensuring peace" through nuclear deterrent, which, in fact means the concept of a war of domination!

The danger posed by nuclear weapon-bearing vessels and submarines, the recent, serious accident in which a Soviet submarine sank with the nuclear weapons it was carrying, and the accidents in which American vessels had sunk before, prove the correctness of the peoples' demands to eliminate the presence of nuclear weapon-bearing vessels from international waters. An end should also be put to the flights of nuclear weapon-bearing planes, which are even more dangerous.

We should take most resolute actions to put an end to all acts that could jeopardize life or civilization on our planet!

At the same time, we resolutely speak out for the elimination of chemical weapons concomitantly with the elimination of nuclear weapons, for the radical and substantial reduction of conventional weapons, under strict international control, and for the reduction of military expenditures—by at least 50 percent—by the year 2000, so that means made available in this way may be used to find solutions to some serious social problems in the respective countries and also to assist developing countries.

We greet the trend toward solving certain conflicts through negotiations and the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war, and we express the hope that an appropriate agreement will be reached to establish a lasting and just peace.

We greet Vietnam's decision to withdraw its troops from Cambodia and we express the hope that a national reconciliation will be reached and that a government of national unity will be set up, which will ensure the democratic, independent, and nonaligned development of Cambodia.

We express the hope that the UN decision on ensuring Namibia's independence this year will be applied. However, this should not be done to the detriment of the progressive forces which advocate Namibia's true independence!

We believe that the time has come for an international conference on Middle East problems with the participation of the new Palestinian state and of Israel, in order to achieve a lasting and just peace in that area in the world.

Generally speaking, we have always advocated the renunciation of the use and threat of force and the solution of disputes between states solely by negotiation.

We believe that it is necessary to stop any support for the antigovernment forces in Afghanistan and to support national reconciliation and a government that will ensure the democratic, independent, and nonaligned development of Afghanistan.

At the same time, we fully support the decision of the Central American states regarding the cessation of any kind of outside interference in the affairs of Nicaragua and of other states. We advocate a political solution in order to ensure the independence and democratic development of the Republic of Nicaragua and of other states.

The path to detente, peace, and cooperation is the path of renouncing force and interference in the affairs of other states, and it is the path of unabatedly respecting each people's right to choose its development road freely and without any outside interference.

Romania has advocated and continues to firmly advocate the achievement of a united Europe in its diversity of social systems, a Europe that will ensure the economic and social development of each nation without any

outside interference. When we advocate a united Europe, we do not understand a Europe of military or economic blocs, because this is not in the interest of any people, but a Europe of cooperation among free and independent nations. This will truly ensure the strength of a Europe of progress and civilization! (Loud, prolonged applause)

In developing collaboration and cooperation in Europe, the decisions adopted at the Vienna meeting this year should by no means be used by certain circles or countries for interference in the affairs of other states. Each European country, as in fact the entire world, has numerous economic, social, as well as humanitarian problems to solve. No one can claim to have the right to impose his mode of thinking and of solving problems. Such an attitude is doomed to failure and cannot fail to lead to tension in relations between states. Only cooperation on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual assistance, and mutually advantageous economic cooperation is in keeping with the interests of all peoples—and only this ensures the progress of each nation! (Loud, prolonged applause)

We firmly advocate broad cooperation among the Balkan countries and the turning of this area into a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign military bases. We support the achievements of such zones in northern and central Europe, as well as on other continents.

Esteemed Comrades, as a developing socialist country, Romania works in close unity with the developing countries to eliminate underdevelopment and achieve a new world economic order. Once again I would like to mention that irrespective of Romania's level of development in the future, it will always remain together and cooperate closely with the developing countries in achieving the goal of eliminating underdevelopment, ensuring the economic and social progress of each nation, establishing new relations of economic cooperation on the principles of equity and equality, and building a new world economic order. This is in keeping with the interests of all countries in the world, both the developing and developed countries. The preservation of the division of the world into rich and poor countries will only generate tension in international relations and will seriously harm all states in the world.

We also attach great importance to the Nonaligned Movement and express the hope that the meeting that is to take place this year will mark a new stage in strengthening the unity and potential of the Nonaligned Movement in the new democratic policy of disarmament, peace, and cooperation among all nations in the world.

We firmly advocate strengthened cooperation among all small- and medium-size countries, and their active participation in solving all international problems.

As I have always emphasized, we advocate an enhanced role of the United Nations and of other international organizations in the democratic solution—in the interest of peoples' independence—of all problems concerning mankind today.

Although the world situation continues to be serious, we are convinced that, through joint action, the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and peoples everywhere are able to bring about a change in the trend of events and impose a policy of disarmament and peace, a new policy of complete equality among all nations in the world. (Loud, prolonged applause)

We attach great importance to cooperation with the communist and workers parties, with the socialist, social-democratic, and other democratic forces, and we believe that their solidarity and cooperation are of great importance under the current international circumstances.

We advocate a greater enhancement of the role and activity of the communist parties and their strengthened solidarity and cooperation, so that they may fulfill their mission as active forces in the struggle for solving—together with other forces and parties—the complex and serious problems of the present-day world.

We look with optimism to the future of mankind and we have confidence in the strength of the workers class, the peasantry, intellectuals, and the progressive forces, and we have confidence in the struggle of peoples everywhere for a better and more just life, and for a world without weapons and without wars. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, the Central Committee plenum has unanimously adopted decisions of particular importance for our people's socioeconomic development and for improving their level of civilization and well-being.

Establishing the future guidelines up to the year 2000 and in some fields for the first part of the 3d millenium opens up great and excellent prospects for the Romanian people and for successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society and creating the necessary conditions for the affirmation of the principles of communism.

We have everything needed for this! We have a strong technical-material base and, above all, we have wonderful people who have demonstrated through their work and activity that they are determined to build the golden future of which the most advanced sons of the nation have always dreamed, and determined to consciously forge a dignified free and independent life. (Loud, prolonged applause)

The preparation of the documents of the 14th RCP Congress and of the congress itself must take place along with intensifying and perfecting the activity in all areas in order to unflinchingly fulfill this year's plan and the

entire 1986-1990 5-year plan, thus setting a lasting base for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and for implementing the programs for the future development of our homeland.

It is necessary for all party bodies and organizations, for the managerial councils, and all bodies of our workers revolutionary democracy, for the state bodies, and all working people to work in complete unity to unflinchingly fulfill, day by day, the plans and programs for all socioeconomic indicators.

Specifically, appropriate attention must be paid to commendably fulfilling the export production and export itself.

It is also necessary to take all necessary measures to commendably fulfill investment projects and to build all industrial, agricultural, and social projects, including housing projects.

We should pay particular attention to the fulfillment of the agricultural production plan. All the sowing operations should be concluded in the shortest time possible and measures should be taken to tend crops properly, in order to obtain good yields this year.

Let us do all we can in the field of industry and agriculture, as well as in other sectors of activity, to obtain the best results and the greatest yields this year! (Loud and prolonged applause)

I want to stress again the need to unflinchingly implement the programs for organization, modernization, setting economic and financial norms, and increasing economic profitability and efficiency in all fields of activity!

All these require the continuous perfecting of the style and methods of work and a decisive struggle against sluggishness and bureaucracy.

The whole activity of the party and state bodies and of all the working people's collectives should be carried out in the spirit of great revolutionary responsibility for the interests of the homeland, the cause of socialism, the raising of the general material and cultural level of our people, and for continuously strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Let us take firm action to strengthen order and discipline in every field and to observe the laws of the country in all sectors of activity!

This year we celebrate several jubilee anniversaries—May Day, 23 August, and others. We should work in such a way as to welcome all these events with achievements in the optimal fulfillment of the socioeconomic development programs and, at the same time, ensure the continuous progress of our homeland. In this way we will appropriately welcome and celebrate all these events! (Loud, prolonged applause)

I express my belief that all participants in the Central Committee plenum, the whole party and state aktiv, the whole party, all the working people, regardless of nationality, and our whole nation will do all they can to commendably fulfill the plans and programs for the development of our homeland and to raise Romania to new pinnacles of progress and civilization.

With the beginning of the new 5-year plan we are embarking on a new road leading toward the future. We have a wonderful program for the future. Let us see to it that through our current achievements we create conditions for fulfilling things in future! (Loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people," "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

In this belief, I wish all the members of the Central Committee, our whole party, and our whole nation increasingly greater and complete successes in all areas! Much health and happiness! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP," "Ceausescu and the people!" "Long live Ceausescu—May Romania flourish!") All those present in the hall stand up and chant for minutes on end in close unity for the Romanian Communist Party—the leading force of our whole nation—and for the secretary general of our party and president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

SCINTIEA Publishes Ceausescu SDUF Speech
AU1704175289 Bucharest SCINTIEA in Romanian
15 Apr 89 pp 1, 3

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Plenary Meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front," in Bucharest on 14 April]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] examined important problems of our fatherland's socioeconomic development and unanimously adopted appropriate decisions, which means that all component organizations and all SDUF participants have pledged to make every effort to commendably implement these decisions. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Our plenary meeting is taking place at an important moment, when the whole nation has taken note of the fact that as of the end of last March Romania has fully paid back its foreign debt; this is a great victory of the creative work and activity of all our people. It is the first time that such a thing has happened in the long history of our people, who, as is well known, have had to pay tribute, many debts, and a lot of interest on these debts for a long time. Well, we have stopped paying tribute for a long time, but now we are also free of any debts and we have decided to no longer depend on anybody from an economic and political viewpoint, and to really ensure

the independence of the Romanian people and nation! (Loud, prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

This morning, the plenum of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee adopted a decision—which will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly [GNA] for adoption as law—to the effect that, in the future, nobody may resort to foreign credits in any form; we should bring about the fatherland's socioeconomic development through our own forces, obviously in cooperation with all states in the world, but on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual benefit. (Loud, prolonged applause) I believe that the SDUF plenary meeting participants agree with this proposal, which we will submit to the GNA for approval, also on behalf of the SDUF.

Another very important problem on the agenda of our plenary meeting is the cancellation of 100-billion lei's worth of debts of certain agricultural production cooperatives and intercooperative economic associations. This is another act of great economic and political significance.

We adopted this decision at the RCP Central Committee plenum and the SDUF plenary meeting, and we will submit it to the GNA. In view of the fact that we are talking about a very large amount, the state's supreme forum must decide on this. This proves the strength of our economy and the correctness of the party-state policy of maintaining the firm development of socialist agriculture as a basic and key branch of our national economy.

As a matter of fact, as I have said at the RCP Central Committee plenum, in the years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, we allocated about 660 billion lei for agricultural development, of which some 600 billion lei was after 1965. On this basis, our socialist agriculture was in a position to register a firm development, and we were able to increase the agricultural production and to successfully implement the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

We will continue to pay great attention to agricultural development, with the conviction that all working people in agriculture, all cooperative workers, the managements of cooperative farms, the leadership of agriculture, and all SDUF component bodies and organizations realize that we should do all we can to ensure that our agriculture obtains results that enable it to no longer resort to credits, thus increasing the contribution of agriculture to the overall development of the fatherland. (Loud and prolonged applause)

I also want to inform the SDUF plenary session that during the party Central Committee plenum we decided to convene the party congress in November and we established the directives and guidelines on drawing up the relevant documents, specifically the program-directive on our homeland's socioeconomic development. They will be published in due course and therefore all SDUF component organizations and all our nation will have the opportunity to discuss them, have their say, and, in complete unity, adopt the decisions on our homeland's future in the 1991-2000 period and in some

fields in the subsequent period in the third millennium. We will do this in accordance with the desire and aspiration of all our nation to forge a free life of well-being and dignity in complete independence and sovereignty. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Taking account of the results achieved so far, of the fact that on the whole Romanian industry has increased 135 fold compared with 1945, of which 120 fold since the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, and bearing in mind that the national revenue increased 40 fold in this period, of which 33 fold after the Ninth RCP Congress, and also considering that we have achieved important results in the regional development of the forces of production, of cities, communes, and of our country as a whole, we believe that we have everything that is needed, so that the program which we will formulate for the coming 10 years will ensure our homeland's further progress, the unflinching implementation of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's firm advance toward a better and more just society, toward communism. (Loud, prolonged applause)

This is why with justified pride we can rightly affirm that solely in the years of socialism has our homeland been able to eliminate past backwardness. All of you know that in 1945 Romania was poorly developed. The very data I have mentioned demonstrate that today our country has become a strong industrial-agrarian state; we have a comprehensively developed industry, which practically includes all modern branches that exist in the world economy.

We are able to manufacture any type of equipment and machinery; we can get involved and be competitive in any area with the best products manufactured in the world. There is only one area in which we do not wish to do this—the nuclear area. From a technical viewpoint we have this capability as well, but we do not want to get involved, because we are firmly determined to struggle against nuclear weapons, which, if used, would destroy life itself on our planet. We firmly advocate their elimination from all states and a world without weapons and without wars. (Loud, prolonged applause)

The policy promoted by our communist party—which is an intrinsic part of the SDUF and which we have declared as our leading political force—has proved to be fully correct, because it has started from the specific conditions in our country, from the interests of our whole nation, and its aim is the fulfillment of all the dreams of those who, throughout the centuries, struggled for the well-being, happiness, and independence of our homeland. You know very well that numerous poets have written about Romania's golden future which they foresaw centuries ago. It was our party's honor and historic mission to make this dream of so many people, of our people—the golden future of Romania—come true in a few decades. This demonstrates the force of socialism and of people who have eliminated oppression and the exploiting classes, who have become masters of their own destiny, and are freely and independently forging their own future of well-being and of happiness! (Loud, prolonged cheers, applause; long chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu—heroism, Romania—communism!")

We have always developed a broad democratic framework, which ensures the participation of all social categories—beginning with the workers class, the leading class of our society—in running all sectors of activity. The SDUF, its bodies, and the SDUF National Council are an expression of this high democratism and of the broad participation of all social categories in managing the entire activity and in working out and implementing our domestic and foreign policy.

You are well aware of the meaning of the SDUF. Practically all our nation's and people's forces are reunited in the SDUF. There is no organization and body, including the religious cults, that does not directly participate in SDUF bodies and their overall activity.

We are shaping our life as we think it best. We opted for socialism and life has strongly shown that only socialism has ensured our people's great achievements and only socialism and communism will ensure our nation's firm march forward toward the new peaks of progress and civilization. Therefore, the construction of socialism and communism represents the SDUF's general program and the whole nation's unanimous striving! (Loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "We will work and we will struggle, the country we will raise!")

There is no doubt that, in discussing the current and future problems of our fatherland's development, we must think of ways and means to improve our work, so as to eliminate certain shortcomings which, unfortunately, are still apparent in many fields of activity. However, we should always proceed from the fact that each one, at his place of work, must do all he can to contribute to implementing our socioeconomic development programs and ensure the victory of socialism and communism in Romania! (Loud, prolonged applause)

We have a long experience, a long past of struggle and work. History teaches us that only when our people have acted in full unity, when, regardless of social position, different convictions, or other differences, everybody did his part and, if necessary, resorted to arms, the country's freedom and independence could be ensured. Of course, we hope we no longer have to resort to arms, because we speak out for disarmament and peace. But everybody should give a helping hand, as the saying goes, to the people's overall effort to develop the fatherland and raise the nation's overall level of civilization and well-being! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Let us take resolute steps to implement our foreign policy of disarmament, primarily of eliminating nuclear weapons and radically reducing conventional arms and military expenditures, and promote a policy of peace and cooperation among all nations in the world. Let us actively support the developing countries; in this respect, I would like to reiterate what I said this morning at the RCP Central Committee plenum, namely that, regardless of Romania's development stage, our country will

stand by and always act in close cooperation and solidarity with the developing countries, for the socioeconomic progress of each nation, for the elimination of underdevelopment, and for a new world economic order. As a people and as a socialist country, we will always side with those who struggle for independence, well-being, and happiness! (Loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-Romania, peace and friendship!")

In conclusion, I would like to express the conviction that all component organizations and all participants in the SDUF will work with greater determination to unite and channel the efforts of the members of the organizations and of all our people in one and the same direction—of implementing the socioeconomic development programs this year and in the current 5-year plan in order to thoroughly prepare for development at a higher level in the next 10-year period.

We have excellent prospects! In 1995 our development will permit us to look with confidence to the year 2000 and to the implementation of the party program. Then Romania will be a strong, comprehensively developed, and independent country—both economically and politically—a country with a high scientific and cultural level, because what we have in mind is to base all our activities on the most modern achievements of science and technology in all areas. We cannot build a developed society from all viewpoints without acquiring the greatest achievements of science and technology and of universal knowledge.

In this spirit, in the next 10-year period we want our people to become a strong nation with a lofty culture and science, a great power of science and culture. (Loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Once again I want to emphasize that we advocate broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation with all states and, of course, primarily with the socialist countries. However, I want to affirm very clearly that the future of our homeland and of our people in the next 10-year period and in the third millenium depends mainly on the work of all, of each of us. The way in which we will work and act to serve the people, socialism, and homeland's independence and sovereignty, the same way we will ensure our nation's free future of well-being! Let all and each of us do all we can for the well-being, happiness, and independence of Romania! (Loud applause, cheers; long chants of "We will work and struggle to elevate the country!")

With this in mind, I wish all component organizations and all SDUF members, all participants in the plenary session, and all our nation increasingly better successes and results in all areas, much good health and happiness! (Loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity, all those present in the hall give long-standing ovations to the RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the party secretary general and president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Dissident Doina Cornea Criticizes Ceausescu
AU1704134289 Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 17 Apr 89 p 7

[Open letter by Romanian dissident Doina Cornea to President Nicolae Ceausescu: "The People Are Fed Up With This Socialism"]

[Text] As we briefly reported before, Romanian dissident Doina Cornea has protested in an open letter to state and party head Nicolae Ceausescu against the persecution of critics of the regime. The letter that was written by the 60-year-old university professor who is under house arrest in Cluj is dated 4 April and reads as follows:

Mr President, I have to turn to you in a direct and less polite tone, because the time in which we are living has become directly threatening. Please read my letter as if I had rolled out a banner in the street, in the center of Freedom Square in Cluj, with the following slogans: "Stop the persecution of those who have voiced their opinions openly and honestly! Their views are our views too. These people have our love and high esteem!" The Romanian people, and I suppose even you, are at a crossroads. The rule you have been forcing on us against our proper nature and against our moral and biological existence is tiring and increasingly more difficult to bear. You have destroyed our churches, our oldest churches and those that are dearest to us. You have desecrated the graves of our princes. You have started to tear down our country's century-old villages and destroy their natural order. You have crushed the innermost nature of the people, disgraced their hopes and their justified desires, debased their consciences by forcing them, under pressure and terror, to accept lies as truth and truth as lies, thus consenting to their own moral mutilation.

Now it is the poets' turn. Does one have to explain in any more detail that the poets are the soul of our people? It is the poets and not the sterile ideology (although it sometimes rhymes) that you have forced upon us. What would have become of our culture if King Carol I had silenced Eminescu in his day because of his poems and essays that were often inconvenient for the government?

Stop this repressive policy that is much more destructive than the economic disaster into which you have led us! Ana Blandiana, Dan Desliu, Mircea Dinescu belong to our entire people and are not your private property! They are poets of truth and embody and protect our character. Reducing them to silence is a crime against the intellect. You cannot punish them, humiliate them, and impose a ban on their writing unless you want to betray what constitutes the deepest sense of our existence. Glory to these poets!

Stop the persecution of the just and upright! Stop the infamous mock trials; anyway, nobody believes that these poets have been involved in dirty dealings. However, he who sells our children to other countries may be

involved in dirty dealings. Or he who deprives our children of bread, milk, and meat by exporting these goods! Give back liberty to those journalists and printers who have made themselves guilty of no other wrong than no longer being able to live with lies.

Stop the persecution of former Communist officials who have quite rightly accused you of leading the country along a path of anachronistic and repressive socialism. It would be much wiser to accept their proposals in order to save the country from decline. What is certain is that for a long time the people have been fed up with the kind of socialism that you want to implement. Some 33,000 miners told you so in the Jiu valley as long ago as 1979. Recently, thousands of people told you so in Brasov, as did a number of upright intellectuals with their individual protests and at great risk. The people of our country are familiar with their names and we love them.

As long as you live and the army of your security police controls the entire population you have the opportunity to force a false image of reality upon our fellow citizens, an image that nobody believes any more, anyway. Yet be assured that history never forgets. Once you do not have any control of history any more it will weigh your deeds, and you will be remembered for your moral deeds and not for these gigantic, superfluous, and often ugly concrete structures with which you want to replace intellectual feats.

Former Romanian Table Tennis Champion Defects
AU1704115789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk in German
1100 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Romanian sports functionary (Ella Stella) Constantinescu has not returned to her home country after the table tennis world championships in Dortmund. The former world champion, who has been in charge of the Romanian national team for 15 years, is currently in the Friedland transit camp.

Swimmer Fails To Report for Flight From France
AU1704203089 Paris AFP in English
2007 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Rennes, France, April 17 (AFP)—A nationwide search was underway in France for top Romanian swimmer Livia Copariu, who went missing on Monday.

Copariu, 16, was here for the "Chrono d'Or" meet, but failed to turn up when her club colleagues assembled in the early hours to catch a coach to Paris's Orly Airport for the return flight home.

Police have ruled out the possibility of an abduction, saying she seems to have left the team hotel of her own accord, taking her personal belongings and passport with her.

Copariu, who does not speak a word of French, set new world short course bests for the 50m and 100m freestyle last week during the Romanian National Championships, when she swam 24.81sec in the 50m and 53.48 in the 100m.

Suvar on Nationalism 'Shaking Yugoslavia'
*AU1404195489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
13 Apr 89 p 4*

[Seada Vranic report on speech by Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at the session of the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists on 12 April: "Methods of Spontaneous Organization"]

[Text] Participating in today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, Dr Stipe Suvar said:

"In political life, the right to citizenship has unfortunately been acquired by procedures and 'technologies' which proceed from the belief that everything that the people want is permissible but, then again, the people want what 'we' want, what 'our' leadership wants and not those other non-populist leaderships and even the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] in which an unprincipled coalition has supposedly ruled. The people want what 'we' say that we want and in those directions into which we are pushing them through methods of spontaneous organization." Whether that is legitimate or not, continued Suvar, institutional or not, justified or not, the main thing is that "our" goals are reached because it must be that way. In this sense, we will announce arrests at meetings and this has even been done by some individuals. That people behave in this way is at least a curiosity in Europe today, and the world views the political events in Yugoslavia with increasing skepticism and concern.

This involves to a great extent the logic of a court martial, of easily promised speed, and the constant search for enemies and culprits. But this certainly does not lead to more democracy and freedom in this country nor does it stimulate greater productivity, better work, a move toward solving the difficult problems, or a surmounting of the trials in which this country finds itself.

Demands have sprouted on the ground of this logic for an extraordinary congress or for a congress of a "general replacement" of everyone except those who enjoy the support of the people, so, for example, they should not be chosen from several candidates. But could be through accumulation! [sentence as published]

At its conference last May, said Suvar, the LCY resolutely decided on a road to reforms, on the democratization of itself and society, on self-managing political pluralism, on open politics, and so on. The line of the court martial, dictates, and false politicizations have not helped, does not help, and will not help to revive such an orientation. On the contrary, this line destroys it, exhausts the energies and wastes the patience of this country, the workers class, and the people in an empty way, and it is deeply disintegrative. At the 17th, 19th, and 20th sessions of the LCY Central Committee, we tried to work out further a reform orientation and decide

on practical steps and a real beginning to the reform, but these tendencies in political life had an essentially paralyzing effect time and again.

Otherwise, the attitude naturally matured among everyone that the 14th Congress of the LCY should be called earlier precisely because of the urgency of the reform of, above all, the LC itself. Not, indeed, in the direction of turning it into a populist and neo-Stalinist party but, on the contrary, in the direction of its deep democratization and of making it capable of new initiatives in the search for answers to the questions of what sort of socialism we want and what sort of Yugoslavia we want, proceeding from the fact that it will not exist in future if it is not socialist and federal.

Therefore, Suvar pointed out, the congress should be prepared in the remaining short period of time in a working, responsible, and quite democratic way, so that we are all completely turned toward really entering the reforms. From the political viewpoint, the most difficult thing will be to crush the destructive appearances of nationalism. That is to say, nationalisms are today shaking Yugoslavia and we in the LC are faced with dangerous attempts to impose national programs and launch national leaders. We must crush this at the cost of preserving Yugoslavia on Tito's foundations and those of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. The siege of national states within Yugoslavia which is weakening and destroying Yugoslavia leads nowhere except into catastrophe, into conflicts without end, that is, into conflicts with a bloody final toll. This is not just a case of Albanian separatist nationalism, no matter how extremely serious and tragic its actions with their counterrevolutionary effects are. Were this only a case of Albanian nationalism, no matter how dangerous, the forces of socialism in Yugoslavia would have overcome it more easily. All nationalists today, as they wanted to yesterday, are trying to break up Yugoslavia or rearrange it according to their own criterion and calculations. A very difficult fight is awaiting us against tendencies to rearrange Yugoslavia in the direction of strengthening separatist and confederalist tendencies or even unitarist and hegemonistic tendencies. Matters will be cleared up in the preparation and adoption of the new constitution, concluded Suvar.

Drnovsek Views Political, Economic Development

Interviewed on Economy
*AU1404180889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
8-9 Apr 89 p 11*

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek by Ziva Verdir and Nijaz Hamze: "I Am Not Reconciled with the Future of the Crisis"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 April—On 2 April, in the first secret direct elections in Slovenia since the war for this republic's candidate for the SFRY Presidency, Janez Drnovsek, a 39-year old doctor of economic science, beat

the other candidate, Marko Bulc, by a convincing majority of 15 percent. The election of Drnovsek should be confirmed (in line with the present electoral regulations) by the Slovene Assembly on 14 April.

Interest in the future member of the collective head of state was all the greater because, judging by everything, Dr Drnovsek should come to the head of the SFRY Presidency in the middle of May and become the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

In his biography Dr Janez Drnovsek, currently a delegate in the SFRY Assembly, has noted numerous activities as an economics expert, particularly in the field of finance, the credit-monetary system, and economic relations with foreign countries. With his knowledge of several world languages, he has taken part in international conferences and seminars in Europe and the United States as an assembly representative or as a financial expert.

Showered with requests for interviews from dozens of Yugoslav and foreign journalists, Dr Drnovsek accepted the request to present some stands from his mainly economically inclined program in an interview with journalists from TANJUG's Slovene editorial office, Ziva Verdir and Nijaz Hamze.

Motto—Market Orientation

[Question] There are obviously different interests and also different views on the way out of the crisis in Yugoslavia. Do you think that these differences are in reality smaller or even perhaps greater than they seem when they are stated openly?

[Drnovsek] I am convinced of the possibility of a Yugoslav synthesis, but it is important for us to learn to live with some differences which often seem greater than they are in reality. A tolerant dialogue should be established in the state. My clear orientation is the calming down of conflicts and endeavors to establish an agreed view on what our foundations and aims are.... There are still opportunities for this in Yugoslavia. Certain political differences may remain, as well as unequal searches on this political road. Nevertheless, problems of this kind should be put in the background and we should concentrate on solving economic problems which I also see as the basis of political trends. If we succeed in resolving the present economic situation and again initiate economic development, I am convinced that there will be a realistic calming down of political confrontations as well.

[Question] Because of your views on solving essential economic problems, many people already see you as a man who will give Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], much support. How do you see relations which could prevail between the State Presidency and Party Presidium and federal government?

[Drnovsek] The government definitely has the main role and initiative in solving economic problems and see no problems in doubling up the activities of the government and the SFRY Presidency. I think that the Presidency can use its support to ease the solving of the complex economic situation and I am convinced that the Presidency will supplement and support the endeavors of the government, particularly in international relations and in formulating new proposals and initiatives concerning our debts in the world. Much can be done in this area. On the other hand, I think that the crisis in the League of Communists [LC] should not have a direct effect on the activities and functioning of the Presidency of the state and the government, especially not in solving economic problems. I hope that the present crisis in the activities of the LC will also be overcome.

[Questions] You wrote in your program that there is the possibility of getting the economy "back on its feet" in the next 5 years.

[Drnovsek] My motto is a market orientation in solving economic problems and there is a particularly important emphasis on the development of financial institutions and establishing a financial market which, I think, is missing in our economic system. Through the financial system, politics has influenced the economy and the national economies are also linked with the question of inappropriate financial organization.

We Deal Too Much With Distribution

The establishment of new financial mechanisms, including the securities market, would be the basis for entering the international financial market and the present divisions between national economies in Yugoslavia would thus at the same time lose their significance. While implementing the domestic economic program, it is necessary to solve the question of great internal indebtedness. We should write off some internal debts but in line with market criteria.

[Question] The idea that more equal economic and social development in Yugoslavia should be based on different foundations has been accepted in principle because no one either in the "North" or the "South" is overly satisfied with the present distribution of income. It has been warned that the "division" between the developed and underdeveloped regions, which coincides with the borders of the federal units, is unbearable.

[Drnovsek] In Yugoslavia we are concerned too much with the distribution and redistribution of the social product, so we often lack the energy and the time to make a stronger impact in the economic sphere. Economic growth has stopped in the last few years and our obligations in servicing our foreign debts have increased. The social product has fallen, so it is logical that the struggle around its distribution has intensified. Everyone wanted to maintain their position in this sphere, no one would reduce their spending, which had an effect on,

among other things, inflation. By activating economic growth and through more appropriate solutions to the question of our foreign debt, tensions in distribution would be calmed down and pressures which now hinder us in implementing a serious anti-inflationary program would be reduced.

It is significant that there have been some shifts which mean that new economic prospects have appeared and the negative trend has at least turned around. This would also have a very positive psychological effect, because people everywhere would see an opportunity for new employment and better income, which would have an effect on calming down the political tensions in the country.

[Question] You said that you hope that the SFRY Presidency will reach a consensus on the main directions of further political and economic development in the state. As you said, as regards disputed questions, you support a tolerant atmosphere and a democratic exchange of opinions which should lead to acceptable solutions. Would you add anything to that? What about the majority vote?

[Drnovsek] We must, above all, devote ourselves to solving the economic problems, and I think it is possible to reach agreement over these questions. However, when it comes to political problems, I believe that we should allow the right time to arrive for them to be solved, in order to discuss the open questions in a more tolerant way without making accusations and criticisms among ourselves. In such conditions, a majority decision in the Presidency as a collective organ should not be an obstacle either or, more precisely, I hope that it will not be.

The Dinar—A Reflection of Progress

[Question] As a delegate in the SFRY Assembly, you have experience of economic measures. Will you advocate temporary measures if the FEC proposes something that you think is suitable for the whole of Yugoslavia?

[Drnovsek] This is true, but I think nevertheless that this is very often a question of the mistaken interpretation that the Presidency is supposedly to blame for this, that is, that it proposes temporary measures too frequently. The problem is that the assembly finds it increasingly difficult to reach a consensus, particularly as far as questions in the material sphere are concerned. The social product is smaller, fights over the distribution of this product have intensified, and the Presidency must take steps to ensure that matters move along. I am convinced that there will be fewer such cases when the economy is revived.

[Question] Yugoslavia will undoubtedly restore some of its standing in the world if it succeeds in solving domestic economic and political difficulties in a satisfactory way. Although forecasts and promises are an ungrateful task, we are interested in how you see Yugoslavia at the end of the 20th century.

[Drnovsek] I want a Yugoslavia which will have reduced the distance it lags behind Europe by that time and will have surpassed some European countries. I want a Yugoslavia which will be included on an equal footing in international economic trends, including financial trends. A result of this would be a convertible dinar. Yugoslavia should be a democratic state with an independent and just legal system. It should be a country which will be included in other international associations as well as the Nonaligned Movement, for example the European Council, and a state which will have its place in a joint European market. I think that Yugoslavia will retain some of its peculiarities, its socialist self-managing system, and that it will develop some forms of political pluralism which will be consistent with this. I will not discuss whether this can or cannot be realized, as I am proceeding from an optimistic vision. It is not acceptable to our generation for us to reconcile ourselves to a future in which we will lag further behind Europe and our crisis will continue. I am convinced that our people have sufficient unused energy, ability, and knowledge to reach the goals that have been set.

Fewer General Declarations

[Question] The ninth summit of nonaligned countries will be held in Belgrade in September. Yugoslavia will then become the chair of the Nonaligned Movement. Do you think that this activity allows our country to be more widely connected with the world, and not with just the nonaligned countries, but also with Europe, for example?

[Drnovsek] Yugoslavia will properly organize and hold the ninth summit of the heads of states and governments of the Nonaligned in Belgrade. Our diplomatic service has much experience in such matters and I am sure that this time Yugoslavia will also meet its international obligation as is appropriate, despite the present economic and political difficulties. I do not see why these activities would hinder simultaneous activity in other directions, above all in the direction of rapprochement with Europe. In the SFRY Presidency I will try to put forward proposals in order to establish new, more intensive contacts with all European integrations as soon as possible. In the short term, I see most opportunities in contacts with the European Free Trade Association. I do not doubt that among our European partners we will find the willingness to intensify our relations. Our stronger status in Europe cannot in any way harm our position in the Nonaligned Movement. On the contrary.

We should direct our efforts in the movement above all toward specific economic goals, particularly in the area of solving the world debt crisis. The nonaligned countries, which include a large number of debtor countries, could do more than they have done until now in this area. They could establish a more effective exchange of information and cooperate more effectively in moves to solve the question of debts. In short, activities should be as specific as possible with as few general declarations as possible.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

I Want Constructive Agreements

[Question] What do you think about commentaries in neighboring Austria and Italy according to which your election to the Yugoslav state leadership means a "Ljubljana spring wind in Belgrade"?

[Drnovsek] I am glad that the domestic and foreign media assessed my election as something positive for Yugoslavia and as a sign that represents the possibility of change for the better. However, I do not agree with comments which see my departure for Belgrade as the beginning of new confrontation in Yugoslavia, particularly between Slovenia and Serbia, for example. I am really offering a new approach to making Yugoslavia a modern, economically successful, and European-oriented state but I am constantly stressing the desire for new constructive agreements and a calm solution of unresolved political questions within Yugoslavia. I am sure that this is also the desire of the majority of Slovenes who supported me with their votes at the elections.

To Halt The Special Measures As Soon As Possible

[Question] Kosovo will undoubtedly be a "hard nut to crack" for the SFRY Presidency in its new term of office. The failures of the present concept of economic aid to the less developed regions are sublimated in this province and are also sharply reflected in interethnic relations. What are the chances of Kosovo leaving its position at the top of the list of Yugoslav problems, at least in the foreseeable future?

[Drnovsek] I hope and I advocate that through its activities, the SFRY Presidency will contribute to overcoming the present crisis phase in the situation in Kosovo and to halting the special measures that are now in force in the province. It is important, however, that all these moves are calm, correct, and just, if I can say it that way, so that they do not bring new injustices to anyone who lives in Kosovo or give new causes for the intensification of any kind of revanchist activity. After this stage, there must be a period of consolidation, particularly economic consolidation. People must begin to work in order to make up for what has been lost and to become employed and be concerned with economic activities so that there is less politicization.

The government must work out a special program of economic consolidation in Kosovo because, seen in the long-term, the situation in which a high birth rate and poor economic performance are in opposition, is unbearable. The economic sphere, as well as other social sciences must be especially activated to solve the problems of Kosovo. International developmental institutions should be activated to a greater extent and in this respect

I do not mean only financial resources but also expert help, as this is probably a question of the most complex developmental problems in the world.

Further on Drnovsek's Views

LD1504223989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—I am an optimist, I think that we must be optimists if only because the crisis is already exerting too much pressure on us, the newly elected member of the SFRY Presidency and the future president of the SFRY Presidency, Janez Drnovsek, said in an interview for Zagreb radio and television. It is particularly younger generations who cannot put up with the prospect of crisis. I believe that there are many people in our country whose knowledge is not being harnessed enough. We should activate all these potentials, and particularly so when we have passed this undecided position we have found ourselves in, which is marked by many opposing positions. Once we have got things going we could relatively quickly make use of all these potentials and make a fast departure from the crisis, Drnovsek said.

The interview with Janez Drnovsek was broadcast in the Zagreb radio and television newsreel. In Janez Drnovsek's opinion our political crisis has largely been caused by economic difficulties. The social product has dropped in the last years. Economic growth is stagnating, while the repaying of external debts imposes a great burden. The struggle for the distribution of this remaining product has become fierce. Everybody wishes to keep his position as a consumer. This breeds further inflation while mutual relations become more tense. When margins get wider, when we increase social product, these mutual political tensions will loosen as it will then be easier than it is now to solve political problems, when people do not see clear economic prospects, when there are many unemployed and when, especially in some parts of the country, mounting social problems are surfacing.

—On several occasions you have mentioned that what our country needs is a kind of Marshall Plan. How do you picture it in the Yugoslav case?

—First, Drnovsek stressed, this is something I see in connection with the solving of our external debt. It is still high, although it has stabilized at \$20 billion, so we must solve this in the coming years. A combination of various measures—for example, a partial debt swap at reduced prices plus foreign investments in our countries with some new credits under favorable conditions, could alleviate the economic revival in the transitional period. This should be accompanied, of course, by an internal economic program which would be based on market criteria and more efficient business. In a word, both the internal and the external economic component should run parallel and be successful so they both can support each other.

Speaking about achieving the hard currency status of the dinar within 5 years, Janez Drnovsek said that this goal is included in his program since he wants to remind that even this is possible in our country. We seem to forget in a way a possibility of a convertible dinar. In the first place we should carry out a correct and firm monetary policy, which mostly means separating politics from money. I have stressed this on many occasions.

One of our greatest problems is the strong influence of politics on money—it happens at all levels—from the National Bank to regional and republican levels.

In Drnovsek's opinion it is vital, together with this, to advance our financial system, to develop the financial market with new instruments with which we could then become included in world financial markets. All this is feasible and I believe that it is possible to achieve this in the next 5 years if, of course, we resolve all our overall economic and political problems together.

Putting forward his view on the direct decisionmaking of citizens and on his election, Dr Janez Drnovsek said that this form of election is a good one. This is a step forward. It is certainly a better way than the practice to date when people knew in advance that someone had already been chosen to take up a function—then they only formally carried out the procedures of formal decisionmaking and of establishing a candidate who had been elected in advance. In the elections in Slovenia it was evident that uncertainty did exist. Right up to the last moment it was not known who would win the elections and people confirmed, by taking part in great numbers in the elections, that this form of election is what they want.

Answering a question on the extent to which it is possible for an individual to have any effect on the decisions of the SFRY Presidency as a collective organ, Dr Janez Drnovsek stated that the president can have an initiative, and that, of course, he should face the other members of the presidency with his arguments. The presidency is certainly a collective organ and the members should reach a collective agreement, and should be agreed at least on the basic directions for solving economic and social problems in society. They should not be under the influence of day to day politics, and they should follow the orientation which they have agreed on. Such a method of work, a constructive method of work, can be achieved in our presidency. I seriously hope that this is so.

In reply to the question of what he think about the new Serbian constitution—in other words has it made Serbia equal or is it more equal than the others, as some Slovene magazines are writing with a certain amount of irony—Dr Janez Drnovsek said: First of all Slovenia did not oppose the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, and second I am convinced that Serbia will now constructively involve itself in resolving economic and political problems on a national level. I think that the great

political mobilization which has been present in Serbia recently will be directed toward resolving economic problems in particular in a constructive and democratic way.

You are a civilian without rank in the SFRY Presidency, which is the collective supreme command. Whether or not this is an advantage or a shortcoming, was the next question.

Neither, replied Dr Drnovsek. I have complete confidence in the professional preparedness and competence of the officers of the Yugoslav People's Army. On the other hand, the army can expect from me complete correctness in conducting my new function. In this area there will not be any problems.

Replying to a question on whether, after the first phase of the constitutional changes, he would insist on the rapid adoption of a new constitution, Dr Janez Drnovsek stressed that he would not insist that these changes be speeded up at any price. We must look at where we stand calmly, at what we must do now, and we must do this in advance, without forcing some formal changes through hastily and again losing a lot of energy and time in doing this. A part of the changes has been implemented, in particular that part which relates to the economic system. This should now yield some results and help with consolidating the economy and in society as a whole. Then we must continue calmly, with constructive dialogue, to see how we can change the political system in good time.

Finally Dr Janez Drnovsek, replying to a question about what Yugoslavs can expect from him when he becomes president of the SFRY Presidency, said: Above all, the advocacy of a peaceful and constructive way of resolving existing political problems in the country, of a calming down of great tensions among us; and an increase in the efficiency of economic activity, a call for Yugoslavia to become a modern country which will be able to be included with equal rights in European and world trends. I attach particular importance to the commitment that Yugoslavia should find its place in Europe as a developed European country and that we should establish our legal system so that it is independent and just, and for all our people to be equal before the state, before the legal system., stated Dr Janez Drnovsek at the end of his interview with a correspondent of Zagreb radio and television.

Addresses Foreign Journalists

LD1704195289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1747 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Ljubljana, April 17 (TANJUG)—A greater deal of tolerance, understanding and fellowship in political relations within Yugoslavia, coupled with a turn towards a

stepped-up solution of the problems of the country's economic development, is the concept which Dr Janez Drnovsek, Yugoslav State Presidency president as of May 15, will work for.

In a talk with foreign reporters permanently accredited in Yugoslavia, Dr Drnovsek underscored that he was for a pluralism of both economic and political interests, which he said were complementary. He said that the practice would show which form of the expression of pluralism of political interests was the most adequate in Yugoslav conditions.

"I am convinced that Yugoslavia, even as it is today, with all its specific political features, is acceptable for the European Economic Community," Dr Drnovsek said. He said that Yugoslavia was not for the time being economically ready for the inclusion in the European Community and that Yugoslavia's membership in EFTA (European Free Trade Association) was a way for its further integration into Europe.

Dr Drnovsek said that Yugoslavia's broader inclusion into European and world economic trends by no means meant that Yugoslavia's role in the movement of non-aligned countries would be diminished. "On the contrary, it is my opinion that Yugoslavia's better status in Europe will strengthen also its influence in the movement," Dr Drnovsek set out.

Asked about the situation in Kosovo, Yugoslavia's autonomous province where Albanian separatists act, Dr Drnovsek said it was a fact that Serbs and Montenegrins had been moving out of the province under direct or indirect pressure. In that context he underscored, "we all wish the situation in Kosovo to be normalized as soon as possible."

Dr Drnovsek expressed hope that reason will prevail over nationalist emotions in Kosovo and that, when that happens, there will no longer be need for the special measures introduced on February 27. Dr Drnovsek said, "It is easy to criticize the (special) measures, but there are few proposals about what is to be done to resolve the problems in a democratic fashion."

Rejecting the thesis on "the conflict between the Republic of Slovenia and the Yugoslav People's Army," Dr Drnovsek stressed that what is involved are "extreme stands of individual persons or groups from Slovenia, often with the intention of attracting the public attention."

Setting forth his view on the future work of the Yugoslav State Presidency, Dr Drnovsek stressed that he considers that the presidency should, within its competencies, lend support to the government efforts to implement the economic stabilisation program.

Drnovsek assessed that Yugoslavia today has "one of the best laws on foreign investments in the world" and stressed that in this way Yugoslavia can quickly become a part of modern production-economic trends and new technologies.

Drnovsek concluded the press conference by saying that Yugoslavia has so far regularly paid back very expensive external credits and that it is perhaps time that the creditor relationship towards Yugoslavia be changed in order that conditions be created which would enable the country to surmount the economic crisis faster and lessen social and political tensions.

Racan Grants Interview on LCY Anniversary
LD1604205389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0752 GMT 16 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—The assessment according to which we greeted some earlier party jubilees with more results and a clearer vision of the future than today, when we are marking the 70th anniversary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], is only partially true. Considering the present prospects it is not difficult to conclude that the elements of the social crisis we are facing today crystallized earlier. The fact that subjective forces were not capable of realizing these processes gives rise to the problem which both they and we have in the League of Communists [LC], said Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in a long interview with TANJUG journalists on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the LCY and the current social situation. [passage omitted]

First of all, stressed Racan, it is a matter of a specific inability of the LC as the "vanguard", as the factor which should have excelled in the perception of everything happening in life and of the vital need to change the content and character of this vanguard quality of the LC.

It is a matter of obvious inability of the LC to understand that one concept of socialism has exhausted its historic possibilities and potential and that it cannot, however much we may try, give an innovative and creative answer to the open issues of development. What had been creative in our project of socialism had been born from a successful autochthonous revolution and a conflict with Stalinism or, in milder terms, in the conflict with the statist-bureaucratic concept of socialism. We have been resolving this conflict in a creative way but such a concept of socialism has exhausted its possibilities and we failed to realize this due to our own successes achieved in the previous period. At the same time we failed to understand that new problems of development and a need to become an integral part of the modern world requires a creative dialogue which would include questions on problems of that world, especially its most developed part. We are still confronting this problem, says Racan. [passage omitted]

The results which Yugoslavia has achieved cannot be denied but they can be destroyed or at least called into question—this is what the present crisis is aiming to do to a large degree. In this respect one can speak about several aspects of responsibility of the LC leadership—not only present but also the previous leaderships. The first aspect is reflected in the inability of innovating leaderships and in neglecting the question of democracy. This had prevented more serious events from being studied comprehensively.

The second one is reflected in the inability to realize where the limit to "playing" at "revolutionary zeal" lies. The armed phase of the revolution and the conquest of power is impossible without that zeal. However, to insist on revolutionary zeal and morality after the conquest of power means to undermine the development of a system which should have its own unique elements of stimulation as had been provided by revolutionary zeal and morality during the phase of armed revolution. We have not realized this, said Racan, and this is why we are witnessing a fundamental transformation of revolutionary zeal into revolutionary voluntarism, and then of revolutionary voluntarism into mere voluntarism. Generally speaking, there is a strong presence of the glorification of will and orientation as if these two could solve the matter by themselves. All this is also not suited to our ambition of becoming part of the modern world.

The third aspect of LC responsibility is reflected in losing strength in futile struggles within the leadership, i.e. in a ritual conducting of politics and in political activity. This has been leading to the leadership lagging behind social processes instead of their keeping abreast with events in society and even going ahead of them. Instead of initiative, energy is being lost in forum-like work and competition and also frequently in struggles and bargaining behind the scenes. When this happens we have leadership which is at the rear, at the tail of events.

This tendency is also present today and it cannot be overcome just by mere willingness and by replacing people without studying its roots. It is crucial to halt stagnation in democracy, in creative, program and anti-dogmatic solutions and in opening up prospects for innovative and entrepreneurial cadres.

While I am talking about the responsibility of party leaders I must, stressed Ivica Racan, mention yet another aspect. On one occasion I used a metaphor to describe the situation in the leadership: "The deepest darkness lies at the foot of a lighthouse." Our revolution had the fortune to have historic leaders, above all Josip Broz Tito. We were fortunate that they led our revolution for a long time. At the same time a type of leader grew in their shadow, leaders who conducted policy, kept their eyes and ears open and waited for instructions. We have not yet transformed this type of leader. Production of a democratic policy and an independent responsible political people can be neither easy nor short-lasting. It must be built into the system. [passage omitted]

Speaking of current events in society, Racan stressed that it was impossible to talk about social reform or a "renewal" of socialism in our country without adequate democracy in all spheres of society. We are faced with the task of correcting the perceptions of the importance of democracy in socialism which are obviously at variance. [passage omitted]

One question asked during the interview was: Are intranational conflicts and quarrels in recent months and years in Yugoslavia a practical denial of party policy on the nationality issue?

One of the "Marxist" misconceptions is that our revolution solved the nationality issue. The nationality issue cannot be solved once and for all. It is an open issue while there is such a thing as nations. Its solving is a contradictory process. This is, I would say, where we failed our elementary ideological and political test, noted Ivica Racan. [passage omitted]

As we know, Kosovo is too good and too painful an example—but it is not the only one. Intranational problems and problems of national emancipation, equality and brotherhood and unity are again on the agenda. They are exacerbated by the socioeconomic crisis which is reflected through them. At the LCY CC Plenum devoted to the nationality issue amongst other things we will have to reply to these questions: What needs to be confirmed and reaffirmed in the LCY nationality policy, what needs to be changed in our present views on the nationality issue because practice did not reaffirm it, and what are the new problems which require the supplementation and enrichment of the LCY policy. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the current theses whereby "communists must be anational", Ivica Racan stressed that this requirement can be heard today with the prerequisite that the LCY, i.e. its organs, will be formed on a different principle than up to now, on the principle of one man, one vote. I can understand this thesis but I neither accept nor approve of it. These are attempts to find a quick solution to the problem, to quickly overcome the interethnic conflict and antagonism which destroy us. [passage omitted]

How will our commitment to a market economy affect interethnic relations? This question, said Racan, is still an open one. I do not wish to be an evil prophet of the danger of the reform of socialism in this country being halted from the position of defending national rights. I am thinking, above all, of the economic component of this reform. We have seen how the bureaucratic structure in its own nation, under the guise of struggling for the interests of the nation, has strengthened itself, in a so-called consensus economy and a consensus policy. We are faced with an open question as to how the laws of the market economy will affect interethnic relations and

how they will operate with them. For example, will arguments from the sphere of interethnic relations be used against economic reform.

Loudly heralded, LC reform has turned into LC transformation. Is it simply a question of a difference in terminology? Replying to this question, Ivica Racan said that he is not a supporter of the phrase "The transformation of the LC" and that the concept of reform was too mild. Above all, he personally does not reduce LC reform simply to reform of internal relations in the LCY. This is why he asserts that the LC reform has still not been carried out anywhere and that, unfortunately, we are far away from it. This is where the greatest defeat threatens us, and with it defeat in the struggle for a way out of the socioeconomic crisis. [passage omitted]

We must decide precisely on the sort of content and form we want for political pluralism and where the LC fits in this and how much scope it wants to leave consciously, and not by force of circumstance, to different opinions and views, which it must creatively face, because otherwise there can be no innovation nor creativity in its own ranks or in the renewal of socialism.

Also dependent on this is the nature of the social role of the LC today. Yugoslav Communists have to show that political pluralism which is not reduced to a multiparty system is possible. It will be able to do this only to the extent that we really remove elements of a one-party system. This is a great, momentous task which can be achieved if the LC accepts and initiates a political system which will prevent it from being the party of power and from having a political monopoly.

We must create changes in the system which will force us, too, in the LC, to behave in accordance with its rules. Declarations are not enough in this case. The LC must build into the political system elements of security against itself as well. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav Communists ensured the participation of all the nations and nationalities in the revolution above all by their own involvement in their own and in all other nations and nationalities. This can only be of all the more assistance to the LC in the democratic competition to win against those fragmentary and partial groups and groupings and their platforms of gathering together on a national basis. For the time being, only the LC has an integrating function which is not national in a Serbian, Croatian or some other sense, but is, precisely for this reason, Yugoslav in the same way that the revolution was.

Replying to the question of what he thinks about demands for a revision of LCY policy toward Kosovo, Ivica Racan noted that ideas and attempts at outwitting this subject were not very interesting to him, and that for this reason he stuck closely to the facts. The facts are as follows: In Kosovo, Yugoslavia is threatened and the interethnic conflict has been lasting for a long time. Our

policy has met with failure in Kosovo. We have not to any significant extent pushed into the background the forces of Albanian separatism and nationalism. We still have not penetrated deeply into all that which is renewing this retrograde policy, all of which suits Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. The problem cannot be resolved by accusations against others nor by a "Yugoslavization" of specific shortcomings and failures. The crisis in Kosovo was a long time in coming and it cannot be resolved overnight, particularly not with measures which extend the existing situation and make it more complex. Patience is wearing thin as it is—on all sides.

Why has the policy of the LCY up to now suffered defeat in Kosovo? Personally I think that there are objective and subjective reasons for this. Among the objective ones is the overall crisis situation in the country and the general trend in Yugoslavia toward national homogenization, the nonfunctioning of the state, and so on. I think that we do the LC and the state a disservice when the LCY Central Committee takes upon itself the obligation of guaranteeing security for people in Kosovo. This must be ensured by an effective state with the rule of law, if this exists. But how can one ensure the functioning of such a state in Kosovo when it is functioning weakly in Yugoslavia. In this respect I do not see a possibility of solving things in Kosovo if they are not solved in Yugoslavia. Neither can one expect a debureaucratization of the party in Kosovo if this is not also a Yugoslav process. [passage omitted]

The blood which has been spilled is a great indictment of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia. Sometimes I am confused at how some of us elegantly pass over the danger of the Kosovization of Yugoslavia or the escalation of Albanian or some other nationalism into terrorism. The key question for us is how to achieve the often repeated slogan on the essential need for a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and all others who live in Kosovo. I am not among those who make light of the drama in Kosovo but I am among those who respect the seriousness of the situation and who warn of the wider responsibility of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia for that situation, said Ivica Racan, member of the LCY CC Presidium, in a conversation with TANJUG journalists.

Mojsov Troubled by 'Disintegration of Spirit'
AU1304142789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10 Apr 89 p 11

[Reprint of "excerpts" from interview with Lazar Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency, by NIN—date, place not given]

[Text] ...At present, in this very heated atmosphere of emotional reaction to numerous questions concerning our recent development, it is almost fashionable to speak about the "disintegration" of everything. I was never of the opinion that we are facing disintegration or that we are destined to disintegrate. This was stated by Lazar

Mojsav, member of the SFRY Presidency, in an interview for NIN. On the contrary, the SFRY is much stronger than it appears to malicious home and foreign observers and commentators. All the historic trials to which we have been exposed in the last 45 years, since the founding of Yugoslavia on the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, have demonstrated that Yugoslavia is much stronger. The roots of our joint liberation struggle, our revolution, are so deep that there is no hurricane that could have uprooted them, or that would be able to uproot them.

I am not all that worried about the disintegration of the country, which will not and cannot happen, but about the "disintegration of spirit" on our current political scene which prevents us from concentrating on several essential tasks. Only then will we be able to make progress and find a way out of the crisis. The objective conditions for this kind of progress, as well as for major steps forward, exist, but the subjective state of spirit, especially in some communities, appears to be holding us in some kind of blindness in realizing what the actual tasks that we now need to accomplish are. We should finally pull ourselves together and overcome present divisions and rising discords, and wage a resolute struggle for unity in solving our essential problems of further development....

[Question] How will Yugoslavia, considering its noticeable conceptual differences in organizing political life, conduct a unified, Yugoslav policy?

[Mojsav] All questions are now open in Yugoslavia, ranging from those from ancient history and mythology to those of the future. This is, of course, why so many differences have now come to the surface in our society. Instead of hundreds of questions which we are continuously asking, and which we would like to answer instantly, we should concentrate on the key questions. There are more than a dozen such questions and they require urgent action rather than analyses, polemics, and disputes. I am convinced that through a serious and tolerant discussion on the priorities of our actions we would relatively quickly come to what we now call a Yugoslav synthesis, agree about it, and resolutely proceed toward a new development cycle of our society, a cycle that will pull us out of the crisis more rapidly. Only then will we be able to work on other questions of which there are more than one hundred. Some of them would themselves disappear in this process.

[Question] Can you recall two instances, facts, or circumstances in the more recent history of Yugoslavia when you, first, felt discouraged and were afraid for the future of this country, and second, when you felt your faith strengthen, when you became firmly convinced that Yugoslavia was a country of certain history and future?

[Mojsav] The sudden increase in inflation and the cost of living, a fall in the standard of living and the considerable devaluation of the national currency, which started at the end of 1988, and which persisted with full force through the following months, were in my view not as much a discouragement as a big worry that destructive inflation and high prices would threaten the very foundations of the country. The fact is, however, that, despite all this, at the end of last year and the beginning of this year we accomplished a great job by adopting amendments to the SFRY Constitution, formulated economic reforms, and finally agreed on and promulgated amendments to the Serbian Constitution.

This instills hope that, despite inflation's destructive effects on us, it is possible to find a way out of the present crisis. The destructive inflation unfortunately devalues and erodes these results, which, had they been achieved earlier, when inflation was around 39 percent, would have been regarded as a major step forward. Only history will reveal the true picture of the present years in which we adopted the long awaited, although not sufficient, changes to the SFRY Constitution and formulated the concept of economic reforms.

[Question] What measures are a priority in combating the galloping inflation which is hampering all our efforts in the struggle for reforms?

[Mojsav] The struggle against the destructive inflation must be a priority above all priorities. Inflation is crushing or eroding even the initial successes achieved in some segments of the economy. So far we have applied many measures and used many recipes to curb inflation. However, inflation has not only not been stopped, but it has reached frightening proportions and produced frightening consequences, which have been called the Latin American syndrome. Instead of our economy entering Europe, as we want it to, it appears that we will "enter" Latin America. This is largely because of our inability to overcome particularistic interests. Particularistic interests are especially difficult to overcome in the struggle against inflation if they are expressed in certain dominant branches of the economy and if they coincide with republican and provincial borders.

Overcoming these selfish interests, liberating imports and in this way creating competition to the monopoly of some producers or branches of the economy, reducing enormous regulations at all levels, ranging from the federation to communes, relieving the economy from high taxation, reducing budgetary expenses at all levels, adjusting to circumstances—harmonizing the state and economic infrastructure with our present potential—all these things will certainly lead to initial although not very quick results in halting the destructive wave of inflation.

Loncar Comments on Integration in Europe

AU1704195689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Apr 89 p 3

[J. Glisic report: "Key to Europe"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Apr—Yugoslavia can and must sail toward Europe with fully opened sails, but the "ball" is still in our court. We must do everything possible to turn toward a market economy, liberalize our relations with the world, and standardize and harmonize our legal system. We also need pluralism in the political system, not as a factor that will disintegrate us into republics, but rather as a factor that will integrate us as a country. This was stated by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, in a fairly long speech delivered at the session of the Presidium of the Youth Organization which discussed the "Prospects of Yugoslavia's European policy and the role of the Youth Organization in it."

Mobility is something where we lag behind Europe most. We can quickly overcome this and the youth can play a major role in it. After a 7-year unproductive and sterile political peace, we have entered a turbulent but democratic atmosphere characterized by new projects. I personally think that there are no obstacles to ratifying the 126 conventions which are the "key" to entering the European Council. We should join the European Free Trade Association [EFTA]. There is also political readiness, but not the precise legal conditions, to join the EC, Loncar stressed.

Aleksandar Simonovic, president of the SFRY Assembly Committee for Foreign Policy, wanted to see a more appropriate division of duties between the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the SFRY Assembly. Although it is not what the constitutional provisions state, up to now the SFRY Assembly has always expected somebody else to make decisions. The Assembly only wants to confirm them. Last July both Assembly chambers were in favor of establishing functional ties with CEMA, the EC, and EFTA, Simonovic said. [passage omitted]

Loncar Arrives in Belgium, Discusses Trade

LD1704213989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1855 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Brussels, April 17 (TANJUG)—There are possibilities for notably broadening trade and economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Belgium, particularly within Yugoslavia's economic reform and the Yugoslav economy's orientation to link up with economic integration processes in Europe. This was assessed in talks between Belgian Foreign Trade Minister Robert Urbain and Yugoslav Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, who arrived in Brussels on an official visit this afternoon.

Loncar and Urbain urged accumulating bilateral economic cooperation, particularly through capital investment and technical and financial cooperation. The two officials also exchanged views on international economic cooperation, relations between Yugoslavia and the European Community, as well as broader integrationist processes in Europe. They also talked about economic reform in Yugoslavia and the program of the new Yugoslav Government.

The Belgian minister proposed that a seminar be held soon for businessmen in Belgium on the gist and targets of the Yugoslav economic reform, the new government's programme and the new favourable legal possibilities for investing capital in the Yugoslav Economy.

The Belgian trade minister assessed that Yugoslavia's chronic trade deficit with Belgium could be decreased by increasing the volume of trade, and particularly by taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the Yugoslav economic reform and its opening towards the world market. Loncar and Urbain highlighted the especially favourable relations in tourism. Last year, more than 130,000 Belgian tourists visited Yugoslavia and an even higher number is expected this year.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar will this evening meet with E.C. Commissioner for Mediterranean Policy and North-South Relations Abel Matutes. Tomorrow, he will meet with Belgian Prime Minister Martens and Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans. He will also meet with top representatives of the Belgian Parliament and on Wednesday is expected to have talks with E.C. President Jacques Delors.

Loncar, EC's Matutes Meet

LD1804041789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2153 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Brussels, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Abel Matutes, the European Community's commissioner for Mediterranean policy and north-south relations, stated today during several hours of talks in the EC headquarters in Brussels that, in line with the prospects for creating a "single market" within the European Community by the end of 1992, joint efforts were needed to update relations and to develop very close cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EC, including an enhanced "political dialogue."

Loncar and Matutes stressed that the Belgrade declaration on SFRY-EC cooperation provides a point of departure for this. The Yugoslav foreign secretary informed the EC commissioner about social and economic reforms in Yugoslavia. Matutes positively assessed the measures of the new Yugoslav Government. In response to Matutes' interest, Loncar gave a detailed explanation of developments in Yugoslavia and, in that context, he detailed the situation in Kosovo and spoke of special measures in force in the province and of the prospects

for their being lifted. At the same time the federal secretary expressed surprise and dissatisfaction at the lack of comprehensive understanding of the Yugoslav and Kosovo situations, saying this is evidenced by a recent resolution adopted by the European Community.

Commissioner Matutes showed full understanding for the current situation in Yugoslavia and was optimistic about the successful outcome of Yugoslavia's orientation to reform. He stressed that the resolution was a matter of concern of the European Parliament and that the community had no direct influence on it. Matutes pointed to the significance of the invitation by the SFRY assembly to a delegation of the European Parliament to visit Yugoslavia. The EC commissioner, however, noted that there was concern among the EC countries over the situation in Yugoslavia.

Loncar and Matutes exchanged views about some specific issues of advancing cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Community. The Yugoslav federal secretary stressed that within the framework of its support for reforms in Yugoslavia, the EC should have a more flexible approach to the problem of increasingly frequent antidumping procedures, which are weighing heavily on the Yugoslav exports to the EC.

Federal Secretary Loncar informed Matutes about the preparations in Yugoslavia for the nonaligned summit in Belgrade and placed particular stress on the importance the movement attaches to the need to modernize its strategy and to step up its activities in resolving key international issues.

Kosovo Assembly Lifts Ban on Market Activities

LD1704181289 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Excerpt] The Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly at its session today changed the part of the decision limiting or banning movements or gatherings in public places, relating to the ban on markets. For the better and more regular supply of citizens, markets are permitted to work in the province. This decision applies as of today. All the other bans within the competence of the provincial secretary on limiting or banning movements in or access to public places of 27 March are still in force, says a statement by the Provincial Secretariat for Information from the session of the Kosovo Executive Council. [passage omitted]

District Court Lifts Ban on Youth Newspaper

LD1704172189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Rijeka, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The District Court in Rijeka, presided over by judge Djurdja Jovanic, today lifted the temporary ban on the distribution of the VAL youth paper. The ban was imposed because of three articles dealing with the situation in Kosovo.

District Court's ruling, the articles "Six Points on Kosovo," "Defense or the Last Days," and "Full Metal Jacket" by Ante Jadrijevic and Srdjan Vrancic were determined not to be a criminal act of hostile propaganda, and their content is not such as to threaten public peace and order. It is not known if the Public Prosecutor's Office will lodge a complaint against today's ruling.

A view similar to the court ruling was adopted over the last few days by the 'Val' publishing council and the Presidium of the municipal conference of the Rijeka youth organization.

Kosovo's Seljani Queried on Security Situation

AU1604163489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 16 Apr 89

[Interview with Bajram Seljani, acting president of the Kosovo Presidency, by "Sunday at 10" journalist Dragan Car—recorded]

[Text] [Car] Comrade Seljani, how do you assess the current political and security situation in the province?

[Seljani] I would like to say that in my view the political and security situation in the province is still very difficult, tense, and uncertain despite all the measures that have been undertaken after the counterrevolutionary events. There are many dangers and they primarily threaten public peace and order and the constitutional system of our country.

Following the introduction of the SFRY Presidency's resolute measures by the security organs, the situation has become somewhat calmer. However, I do not think that this relatively calm situation means that the situation is stable because I think that the final stabilization requires much more time and effort, comprehensive measures by the state organs, and a mass political action by all socially organized forces led by the League of Communists aimed primarily at (?changing) the conscience of the majority of the working people and young people.

Despite all the measures that have been undertaken, the enemy is still pursuing its dark aims, it is trying to consolidate itself, to organize itself, and to work from underground. The enemy is advertising itself through hostile slogans, leaflets, threats, and by frightening above all members of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, as well as members of the Albanian nationality, particularly those who have resolutely joined the struggle in order to unmask the platform of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Albanian nationalists and separatists are working in collusion, they are (?in touch) with the enemy inside the country, the enemy that is in favor of an unstable situation in Kosovo, the enemy that wants to preserve Kosovo at any price as a hotbed of crisis so that it could use it to destroy our country and the constitutional

system. They are also in collusion with hostile Albanian emigres in some Western countries who are supported by the propaganda of the Socialist Republic of Albania.

[Car] Comrade Seljani, can you give us an estimate, can you tell us to what extent Albanian nationalism and separatism is really supported by the Albanian people?

[Seljani] The fact is that after the counterrevolutionary events of 1981 criminal charges were filed against a large number of people, over 1,000 people. Further 6,000 people were charged for misdemeanors. We also conducted various talks and issued warnings. All this confirmed that many young people took part in those events. However, the recent situation, recent events showed that nationalism and separatism had affected a certain number of workers, farmers, intelligentsia, and so forth.

It also appears that the majority of former political convicts took part in the latest events, that they played a role of organizers. A number of them, particularly those who managed to emigrate after the 1981 events, are very extreme and it is mainly they who were the chief organizers and who tried to win over our workers who are temporarily working abroad and perform certain hostile acts in the country. We know that this number is fairly large. There are over 50,000 people working abroad. This does not mean that they all accept the intentions of Albanian nationalists and separatists because they have their families, influence, and so forth.

Therefore, I think that the current struggle is more difficult than the one fought in 1981 and that, in my opinion, the balance of power is not adequate for the present complicated situation which demands a more rapid calming down and the final stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

[Car] What did you exactly mean when you said that the balance of power is not the most adequate?

[Seljani] I primarily wanted to say that, as regards the working people and citizens, the situation in 1981 was clear because the enemy came out with its platform, its program. The enemy consisted mainly of young people. The workers class and the majority of farmers and other people were very resolute at that time. Immediately after those events broke out we succeeded in mobilizing large masses to fight against the enemy. Now the situation is somewhat different in view of everything that preceded the March events. We are now facing a situation in which the majority of people are keeping silent. The situation will not change in a positive sense until we make it possible for the majority of people to join the action, speak, condemn, and analyze the causes and multifaceted consequences of the events that took place in March. We must achieve this as soon as possible. We can only do this if we conduct a broad political action in order to above all explain the essence of the aims,

intentions, platform, and program of Albanian nationalists and separatist who wanted to realize their aims here in Kosovo in an impudent way.

Pamphlets Inciting Disorder Found in Pristina

LD1304152289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—It has been officially confirmed in Pristina that pamphlets with hostile content from positions of Albanian separatism and nationalism were spread in Pristina last night. According to the Provincial Committee for Information, the security organs discovered six hostile pamphlets.

The pamphlets contain invitations from the separatist organization "Movement for Kosovo Republic" for disorder, boycotts, and other hostile actions.

Kosovo Trade Unions Face Personnel Changes

LD1304074689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Summary] Pristina, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union has proposed that nine members of the provincial council, four members of the Presidium and two members of the trade union municipal councils be relieved of their duties.

The secretary of the Kosovo Trade Union Presidium, Zija Jusufi, will be relieved of his duties because of health problems, while Abdulaziz Sadiku, Afrim Deva, and Bedri Mahmeti will be relieved of their duties at their own request.

The presidents of the trade union municipal councils of Podujevo, Urosevac, and Kosovska Kamenica have already resigned.

"Out of three proposed candidates for president of the trade union council, Dusan Bisevac, member of the Presidium, was unanimously supported. The proposal that Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee should be the candidate for president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia was also supported at the session."

Assembly Chamber Hears New Statehood Definition

LD1704201189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1552 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Skopje, April 17 (TANJUG)—A new definition of statehood for Yugoslavia's constituent Republic of Macedonia, Southeastern Yugoslavia, was brought forward before the Socio-Political chamber of the Saboranje (Assembly) of Macedonia here today.

Under this proposal, Macedonia would be defined as a socialist republic and national state of the Macedonian people founded on sovereignty of its people and authorities, on its working class' self-management and of all its

working people as a socialist, self-management and democratic community of the working people and citizens, the Macedonian people being equal in rights with members of other peoples and nationalities living in Macedonia.

The said proposal is to be debated by the Socio-Political Chamber of Macedonia's Sabor on April 27. Being expected then is a final draft of the definition of statehood for this Yugoslavia Republic in which, according to the 1981 census, 1,967,000 inhabitants live (8.6 per cent of Yugoslavia's population), Macedonians being the most numerous among them ahead of ethnic Albanians and Turks as well as other peoples and nationalities.

According to the new definition in its republican Constitution, Macedonia is the state of the Macedonian people, Albanian and Turkish nationalities as well as of other peoples and nationalities living in it.

The proposal from reshaping the constitutional definition of the Republic of Macedonia's statehood came from a public discussion of draft amendments to Macedonia's Constitution which were adopted on March 14.

The new definition of statehood should make the national integrity of the Macedonian people stronger in its state, it was insisted on in the discussion. It was also proposed that Macedonia be defined only as a national state of the Macedonian people and that members of other peoples and nationalities be constitutive elements of its character as a socialist self-managing community.

Ljubljana Court Rejects Ban on Youth Paper
*LD1704224989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—At a hearing today, the Ljubljana Basic Court rejected a proposal by the Higher Public Prosecutor to impose a permanent ban on issue 11 of MLADINA, the paper of the Federation of the Socialist Youth of Slovenia.

The Basic Court has ruled that the incriminating article "Death Squads..." [ellipses as received] is not offensive from either a criminal or legal point of view, but is simply a negative assessment. The article criticizes the development objectives and interests of the Yugoslav People's Army which the court states cannot be identified with the state.

The parties in dispute have the right to lodge complaints within 3 days. Within this period the incriminating MLADINA issue cannot be put on sale.

Kucan Addresses Slovene Trade Union Activists

*AU1704152889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] At a 2-day seminar of more than 230 trade union activists from the Slovene coast and the Kras region held in Porec, Milan Kucan spoke about the current situation in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and said that at the last plenum held in Belgrade on Friday [14 April], Stipe Suvar had inaugurated a good portion of the concept of socialism to suit man. Regarding the question of whether the 14th congress should be an extraordinary or regular congress, Kucan was of the opinion that this dilemma should be resolved in time. Relja Atanasijevic has the details:

Vojvodina communists have the statutory right to demand that the LCY Congress scheduled for December be an extraordinary congress. However, Milan Kucan is convinced that their arguments for this are questionable, and wants the Central Committee to, during the preparations for the congress, establish who and what has caused the extraordinary circumstances, remove their causes, and make sure that the congress is held under as normal conditions as possible.

Answering the question whether the League of Communists of Slovenia would leave the LCY if the Slovene ideas and stands were voted out at the congress, Kucan expressed the view that this should not happen because by this the communist movement in Yugoslavia would be negating its own existence. If somebody is thinking of using the principle of democratic centralism for the (?purpose of imposing) his own beliefs, then he should also bear responsibility for this. The relationship between the minority and majority is reciprocal.

Kucan also expressed the view that the 14th congress is connected with the question of what kind of socialism and Yugoslavia we want. He added that at the plenum held in Belgrade last Friday one could notice that, as regards this question, there are different views in Yugoslavia. He said that a farewell to the unsuccessful model of society does not mean a farewell to socialism but only to its [word indistinct] forms.

Answering the question of how one should oppose Serbian populism, Kucan said: Certainly not by Slovene populism. If Serbian populism produces better results than (?Slovene) love for political pluralism and mutual quarrels, then it will be the Serbian rather than Slovene policy that will receive historic justification and confirmation.

He said that there is a possibility for populism to emerge in Slovenia because social aggravations and tensions can also be seen in Slovenia, as well as the fear of people losing their jobs and daily bread. In this kind of situation the people will not ask themselves whether their reaction is populist and who is to blame for it, Kucan, Smole, or Stanovnik.

However, it is us who represent this system which is to blame for people being hungry and without a job, Milan Kucan concluded.

Foreign Intelligence Interest in Kecmanovic

LD1804083389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0759 GMT 18 Apr 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—A statement by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on Dr Nenad Kecmanovic says that the security services, as early as in 1982, obtained information that certain foreign intelligence services had marked him out as a person of interest from their point of view. The following year a member of one of the foreign intelligence services made direct contact with him. Kecmanovic was then warned that behind all this there were intelligence interests regarding the situation in Yugoslavia and that they would attempt to win him over to cooperate with them. In the very first contacts the foreign party asked exactly those questions that the intelligence service concerned was working on, letting him know that, if he were to have problems, they could ensure for him an adequate life in a Western country, the statement says.

Publicity of Kecmanovic Candidacy Case Urged

LD1804034389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—From the initial stage of drawing up criteria and registering potential candidates to the stage when proposed candidates were endorsed, the procedure to elect a member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina was conducted on a broad-based democratic basis. It was in line with the constitutionally and legally envisioned procedures. It attracted a large number of the working people and citizens and was characterized by consistency in its adherence to the principle of multiple candidate lists and ballot.

This, according to Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC [League of Communists] Central Committee Presidium, who spoke at today's session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Republican Conference Presidium, was the stand of the party Presidium during preparations for today's session of the socialist alliance.

In fact, Mutapcic said, that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly failed to elect the SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Herzegovina does not, in the opinion of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, signify a defeat for democracy and the process of democratization in overall relations in the republic. This calls for an action to clarify all political issues raised in connection with this case to consolidate democratic relations. The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium therefore proposes that the electoral procedure be repeated in its entirety and that it be preceded

by a thorough analysis of its good and bad aspects and especially of the weaknesses in the way it was conducted. This should be done to establish the whole truth and responsibilities and to learn necessary lessons to draw on in the future democratization of elections. Before all this is done, however, the public must be informed about the reasons why Dr Nenad Kecmanovic has not been elected member of the SFRY Presidency.

The Bosnia-Herzegovian LC Central Committee Presidium adheres to its earlier stand, announced by the Central Committee delegation at the last session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, that the gist of a piece of information sent by the federal organs stating facts of importance for the country's security and which put a question mark over the election of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic, should be made known to the public. This has not been possible to do so far due to a legal obligation to respect a state secret. The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium insists that the competent state organs should give their clear assessment of the activity of Nenad Kecmanovic which, together with the abovementioned information, should be made public.

Failure to promptly inform the organs responsible for conducting the procedure for electing SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Herzegovina about such important issues and to do it later in a form impossible to use in a public pre-elected procedure, has had major political consequences. The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium is of the view that the republic's competent state organs should ask the relevant bodies in the federation to explain why the facts of such great importance were not revealed through regular channels and during consultations in the federal organs about the election of a member of the SFRY Presidency. They should also ask why the relevant piece of information was sent at practically the eleventh hour. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the Presidium Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, I am stating here, firmly and in a responsible way, Mutapcic said, that at no stage in registering, nominating, and selecting candidates by a secret ballot in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly did the Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, in this capacity of collective executive-political organ, violate the democratic procedure and its essence. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium proposed that in the repeated election procedure the citizens of the republic will be given an opportunity to voice their views about candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina through a referendum. The Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly has the constitutional right to pass relevant decisions and to make final selection in a procedure it alone decided upon, stressed Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidium stressed.

Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP on Direct Voting
*LD1704202789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Socialist Alliance at its session today decided to propose to the delegates of the republican Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Conference that in the framework of the renewed procedure for putting forward and confirming candidates for the post of SFRY Presidency member from this republic, direct and secret voting by the working people and citizens should be used to finally establish the proposed candidate. Voting by referendum would be carried out in the part of the procedure which is within the SAWP's jurisdiction, and in the procedure for which the assembly is responsible, the assembly delegates themselves should vote, it was concluded.

The Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP concluded today that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency should be called on to prepare and present to the public by tomorrow, for a session of the republican SAWP conference, the complete information with the relevant and available facts connected with the case of the withdrawal of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic from the election for the post of SFRY Presidency member.

Milosevic Speaks, Concludes Serbian Plenum
*AU1604184889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
13 Apr 89 p 1*

[Report on the speech delivered by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, at the Serbian Party Plenum on 12 April]

[Text] In his concluding speech, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, concluding that the plenum basically extended its support to the draft decisions which will be adopted by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] at its forthcoming session which is scheduled to discuss the preparations and content of the extraordinary LCY congress.

Need for the Broadest Masses' Opinion

The dilemma whether we should have an extraordinary or an early congress does not exist any longer because the statute is clear on that. So is the explanation of the LCY Statutory Commission which, according to the Statute, is the only competent body to interpret the the LCY Statute.

Considering that the congress's main topic will be the "Social reform and the transformation of the LC," the draft documents should encompass the social reform as a whole, and it would be natural if they were publicly discussed by the LCY together and at the same time.

We also propose that the broadest public be asked to express its view on the draft program documents concerning the extraordinary congress. In other words, the members of the LC will not be the only ones to express their view on this matter. This democratic move is naturally imposed by the very essence of the process of the democratization of relations in the LC and society. At the next session of our Central Committee we will adopt decisions concerning the preparations and the convening of the Serbian LC Congress.

In this way we will join the intensive activities of the LC which will be conducted at the same time as the activities on finding a solution to grave economic problems, problems in production, and problems concerning the standard of living. Through the great work which is to come and the resolution of the organizations and members of the LC in the struggle to solve the crisis and in the preparations for an extraordinary congress, we will carry through and intensify the mobilization which has characterized the political life in Serbia for a long time, and use it to help solve precisely these most serious economic and social problems.

The most difficult tasks are before the leaderships and communists in Kosovo because, in parallel with the struggle for reform, they will bear the greatest responsibility for the final elimination of the consequences of the counterrevolution and opportunism in their own ranks.

Break From Poverty and Humiliation

For its part, the Serbian LC will do everything so that we welcome the next congress in the whole of the LCY with more unity as regards implementing social reform and so that real and artificial differences in Yugoslavia are erased. Those who think that Serbia, now that it has become a republic, will enter the ranks of defenders of the status quo and will be against changes to the 1974 Constitution are mistaken. They will soon realize this.

We Will Not Rest on Laurels

Serbia did not become a state in order to rest on its laurels of victory but to now be equal and strong and open toward everything and to have a strong influence on the democratic changes which will make Yugoslavia a strong community of equal peoples and nationalities which will be able to find an effective way out of the crisis and a final break with the poverty and humiliation in which it finds itself. Of course, those who do not care about Yugoslavia will see this orientation of ours as our final intentions, or as they say because they do not have any reasoned arguments, unitarist or hegemonistic intentions, but hopefully they do not have the illusion that the fact that they talk in this way or that they do not agree with us will be the reason for us to abandon Yugoslavia and socialism and the democratic processes which nothing can stop any longer.

We do not have time to explain our policies in detail to everyone individually, and especially not to malicious people. I think that it is better that this policy be judged by its results, that is to say its success, and this we can promise them. This was stated by Slobodan Milosevic.

Zagreb University Workers Strike Over Pay
*LD1704195989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Summary] Zagreb, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—At the philosophy departments at Zagreb University over 100 librarians, administrators, and some assistants have stopped work and are demanding a 100-percent pay raise, instead of the 50 percent raise they have been offered. The department's scientific and teaching council will decide Tuesday whether they will also stop work for the same reason.

General Buncic on 'Directed Nationalism'
*AU1604141089 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 89 p 3*

[Report on speech by Simeon Buncic at the session of the Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade on 30 March]

[Text] The interethnic conflicts in our country, as Simeon Buncic stressed, have been brought almost to the point of incandescence, for at some moments nationalist passions and national confrontations assume such dimensions that all other values and sensible facts of life are obscured and lost.

In a situation when a large number of workers are drastically burdened by problems of subsistence, a violent return to the myths of the nation is propagated, stories about the tragic life of one SFRY people or another are being invented and skillfully launched, fear and nationalistic specters are being raised, pressing more and more fiercely on the conscience of men, demoralizing them and darkening the prospects. Therefore, Buncic said, there are many reasons for drawing attention from this place to the occurrence that the practice of underestimating nationalism and reducing it to an ephemeral, occasional, and passing negative phenomenon is fairly established in some social communities. In this way nationalism is in fact encouraged and nourished. A distorted and untrue picture of nationalism is thus created. One begins to live in delusions about oneself and one's community. Therefore many are confused and surprised when the masks are lifted and reality comes out in the open. Compromises with nationalism are then replaced by open clashes which in certain circumstances, such as at present, may be settled in blood.

The Danger of Underestimating One's Own Nationalism

Occurrences of underestimating the danger of one's own nationalism while constantly pointing out the nationalism of others are particularly harmful. This widespread occurrence under our conditions necessarily leads to an inflaming of nationalist passions, increases internal tension, and directly undermines stability, unity, and prospects of the Yugoslav federation. It is necessary for us all to be cautious and sensible in assessing the nature and the extent of every nationalism.

We used to assert with justification that nationalism is a mask which hides proven antisocialist and anticommunist forces. We used to assure people that nationalism is rooted in the undefeated remnants of old society. Unfortunately, we are now more and more frequently meeting aggressive appearances of so-called new nationalism founded in socialist relations. What is involved is, as Tito used to say, bureaucratic nationalism which is virtually dominant in all communities of our society. In this context, we are also meeting the phenomenon of the so-called directed nationalism [dirigovani nacionalizam] behind which parts of the leaderships, or entire leaderships of the League of Communists and other legal institutions and forces of the system are hiding. All mass communication media are under their control. It is the legal political institutions of the system, and not some imaginary forces outside it, that direct the political information content and guide the public to squaring the political accounts with others. In this respect everybody has his own public and, fanning national hatred, expresses his demands in an ultimatum-like way. It may be quite reliably asserted that nationalism is now increasing, primarily because the conflicts within the leading forces of society—which, objectively speaking, emanate from bureaucratic-nationalist sources—have been aggravated to extremely dangerous limits. Such moments of crisis and crisis situations are increasingly being created, jeopardizing the very existence of our society as a unified community of equal peoples and nationalities.

Further in his speech, Buncic said among other things that from various sides for some time now, the view has been arrogantly advanced which sees in the nation and the republic a national state the origin of everything: of the party, of politics, of the economy, and of ideology. This is the beginning and the end of all fundamental relations in society. Everything else is occasional and derived. In this view, the federation and the relations in it are built only according to the interests of the republic. The interest is expressed according to the law of value, and this law according to market criteria. There is no place for the citizen, and even less for the workers class. The League of Communists is ultimately not even necessary, because it has allegedly been historically superseded. Instead of it, a new option is offered based on a ramified multiparty structure, private property, and so-called civilian society.

Under the conditions of undermining unity and more and more open confederalist and secessionist strivings, the view is also being advanced of Yugoslavia in some old edition, with the command role of the party and the relations ordered on the principle of monolithism and transmission belts.

Such and similar views are generated even in political leaderships, and they are launched in public through well-oiled political propaganda centers, very often in subtle and not readily recognizable forms and contents.

The Army Is a Reliable Support of the Workers Class

All this, Buncic stressed, imposes the need for political vigilance, and everything should be done so that the people in the Army comprehend the actual sense, essence, and aim of certain positions, views, and practical behavior. One can understand events if they are regarded in context, if the side occurrences are distinguished from the central course of development, and if the main assessments are derived from a comprehensive evaluation of the current political situation. It is particularly important that the Army, as a general Yugoslav defense and protection force, should be protected from all unprincipled, especially nationalistically colored regional influences and precepts. Our people must be active along the general course of the revolution. This is an important condition so that the Army may be a reliable support of the workers class, our peoples and nationalities, our working people, and citizens in their struggle for Yugoslavia. This should not be any Yugoslavia, but a Yugoslavia firmly based on socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, and equality of our peoples and nationalities, and on democratic relations among men. We must do everything in the future, too, so that people may understand that Yugoslavia cannot exist as either a unitarian or a confederal creation. The forces that strive for a centralistic-unitarian or confederal political systems should be pushed away and rendered harmless.

The precepts of the Army personnel are clear and must be so. We will persist in the mobilization of the entire personnel in implementing the three reforms. We will be comprehensively involved in the realization of the new Federal Executive Council program which is justifiably expected to bring first results in mastering the crisis. We will strive to divest the alienated centers of social power at all levels of social organization and to make changes in the relation of forces in society to the benefit of power by the workers class and the working people. Both the stability of Yugoslavia and the speed at which we emerge from the present social crisis depend chiefly on this. It is only on a workers class line that the causes of the boiling nationalist feelings can be overcome and new scope for a true national affirmation of every people and nationality may be achieved at the same time.

The Army is firmly convinced that it is in the interest of stability of all our society that the federal organs be made capable of successfully implementing their social assignment and responsibility. Solutions must be found that will ensure that the system of the political organization of society should incorporate a machinery that will make it possible for every federal organ and institution by itself, without imposition and pressure from outside, to adopt decisions, influence their implementation, and bear quite specific collective and personal responsibility for the failures. Federal organs must be peculiar representatives of the sovereignty of the federation in the spheres belonging to it according to the Constitution.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Psychological-Propaganda War

The discussion at this committee session faithfully reflects the uniform feeling and the resolute request of all Army personnel that this psychological propaganda war waged between several republics, or rather between their leaderships, should be stopped at once, without delay. It is lunacy to incite one people against another, to deepen the chasm of mistrust and hatred, to introduce alarm among the people, families, schools, working and military collectives, and to split Yugoslavia, Simeon Buncic said at the session.

Army Communists 'Unwavering' in Party Support
LD1704201989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1600 GMT 17 Apr 89

["Yugoslavia—Army Communists Are Party's Firm Support"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, April 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army party committee President Vice-Admiral Petar Simic today said Army Communists are unwavering in realizing the Party's policy and building an army which will at every moment be a firm support to all nations and nationalities and the leadership of Yugoslavia in strengthening the country's independent and non-aligned position and stability.

Speaking at a meeting of the Army's Party Committee devoted to the 70th anniversary since the forming of the Communist Party, i.e. the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), Petar Simic said that everything has been done to preserve the political unity and moral strength of the Army structure. He assessed that "advocates of anti-socialist and anti-communist ideas are becoming louder" in the country, underscoring that "there cannot be a dialogue" with forces which attack the foundations of Yugoslavia's system.

"In particular, we cannot reconcile ourselves to nationalism, as the most dangerous form of counter-revolution in our conditions", Simic said.

The Yugoslav People's Army LCY Committee decided to hold the Army's ninth party conference in October this year.

The conference will be part of the general preparations of Yugoslav communists for the upcoming congress which has sparked, in the past few months, serious disagreement not only over how it should be called (early or special) but also its fundamental orientations.

Serbian Defense Secretary on Attacks on Army
LD1704202289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1641 GMT 17 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 17 (TANJUG)—Defence secretary of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Major-General Slobodan Mioc today emphasized that the fact giving cause for concern is that competent bodies reacted only to half of the total of 266 registered verbal and physical attacks on members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and military installments in the country and the

only ten of the total of twenty such cases in the Republic of Serbia.

Such lack of promptness helps individuals and groups engaged in anti-Army activities, Mikic said at a meeting of the All-People's Defence Commission of the Assembly of Serbia. The commission assessed that the attacks on the Army were also attacks on the integrity of Yugoslavia.

Mikic informed the commission on unacceptable demands for the forming of so-called republican armies, radical cuts in the military budget spendings, the civilian military service and the de-politicization of the Army.

The fact that the Republic of Slovenia failed to explain why it recently disputed the federal government report on attacks on the JNA can be interpreted as the acceptance by the Slovenian Government and Assembly of arguments furnished by the forces qualified in the report as the advocates of unacceptable theses on the Army, it was said at the meeting.

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